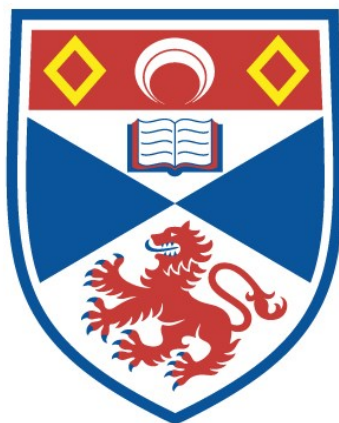


# **THE POETRY OF AN ARTIFICIAL MAN : A STUDY OF THE LATIN AND ENGLISH VERSE OF ROBERT SOUTHWELL**

**Brian William Oxley**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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THE POETRY OF AN ARTIFICIAL MAN:

a study of the Latin and English verse of Robert Southwell.

by

Brian William Oxley

A thesis submitted in the Faculty of Arts of the University of St  
Andrews in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy.  
September, 1984.



## Abstract

The subject of the thesis is the verse of Robert Southwell, both in Latin and English. It may be divided broadly into three sections corresponding to three main areas of interest. First, there is a discussion of the character of Counter-Reformation, or to be more precise, of Jesuit Poetics, which is largely based on the 'De poesi...' of Antonio Possevino, a leading Jesuit scholar and educationalist. There follows an account of the Latin verse which Southwell wrote abroad before his return to England in 1586. The third and most substantial part of the thesis is an account of the English poetry which is given in four chapters. First, following a discussion of the textual situation, Southwell's shorter poems are discussed as a coherent and intelligible sequence. Next, there is an account of the distinctive character of Southwell's poetry as revealed in its recurrent themes and images. Here the continuity between the Latin and English verse is examined. Next there is an account of Southwell's masterpiece, 'Saint Peters Complaint', which is seen as the fulfilment of Southwell's poetic career, and as a microcosm of his poetic work, drawing together in a compact unity elements scattered and divided amongst the rest of his work. Finally, an attempt is made to identify Southwell's best poetry, and to give detailed readings of his best poems, with the intention that Southwell may be better represented in anthologies and literary histories. A brief conclusion suggests that artificiality, which in contrast with previous readings is seen as a central element of Southwell's poetry, is relevant to understanding his life also.

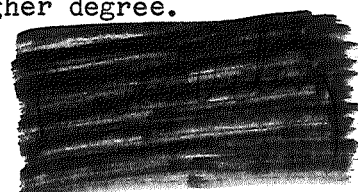
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I, Brian William Oxley, hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately 80,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been *accepted* in any previous application for a higher degree.

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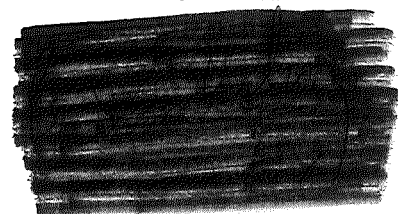


2

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No.12 in October 1979 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. on 23 April 1980; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St.Andrews between 1979 and 1984.

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### Acknowledgements

I wish to record my gratitude to the the University of St Andrews for the Scholarship that made this research project possible, and to thank the English Department, and in particular my supervisor Neil Rhodes, for invaluable help in carrying it out. Grateful thanks are also due to Dr. Adrian Gratwick of the Department of Humanity (Latin) for giving his time generously to help me with Latin language and literature; Mr. Hargreaves of the University Library for help and advice; Father Turner S.J. of Stonyhurst College for enabling me to examine the manuscript of Southwell's Latin verse; and all the other organisations and individuals who have helped me in some way in the course of producing this thesis.

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3. First page of the 'Filii Prodigii porcos pascentis ad patrem epistola' from Stonyhurst MS.A.V.4.

## Introduction.

### 1.0

#### The Scope of the Study.

The subject of this thesis is the poetry of Robert Southwell. In the course of research, several perhaps obvious but nevertheless difficult decisions had to be taken as to what should be included and what left out. Two decisions in particular governed what was to be included. First, I took the view that to pass over Southwell's Neo-Latin verse would be to restrict myself to telling only half of the story of his poetry; and second, that the proper place to look for understanding of Southwell's poetics was in the formal poetics developed by Jesuit scholars and taught in Jesuit colleges. Hence the study has a tripartite structure corresponding to its three main areas of interest: Jesuit poetics, the Latin poetry, and the English poetry.

In so far as they set up an order of priorities these decisions governed also what was to be excluded. I have some regret that limitation of time precluded an account of the prose works. Southwell is a superb literary artist in his prose works which won praise from such contemporaries as Harvey and Bacon.(1) Moreover, it has become clear to me that, at least in this period, some of the main stylistic concepts applied equally to poetry and prose. Croll's famous

demonstration of the character of Euphuistic prose may be usefully applied to much of the poetry of the time.(2) It would have been illuminating to have traced the correlation of poetry and prose in the work of Southwell. On the other hand, the Latin and English poetry represent a relatively unified and compact area of subject-matter. To have widened the field of enquiry to include the prose writings would have been to embark on a comprehensive study; an undertaking that would have required far more resources than were available, and which, moreover, would have over-run the customary bounds of an academic thesis.

I make no apology for having decided to forego an account of Southwell's life (apart from the brief chronology in Appendix A) since my primary interest is in Southwell as a poet rather than as a Saint. However, an understanding of Southwell as a poet has far-reaching implications for the interpretation of his life. Previous accounts, which have, in my view, given a misleading account of the poetry have been equally misleading in respect of the life. In the concluding chapter I draw together several points of commentary which are scattered throughout the thesis to offer what seems to me the key both to Southwell's life and to his poetry.

## 2.0

### The Plan of the Study

While no comment is required on the order of the first two parts of the study, the chapters on Jesuit poetics and Southwell's Latin poetry; some comment is necessary on the remaining chapters, where no clear logical plan was immediately apparent and devising the arrangement of the subject-matter occasioned some difficulty.

I begin with a survey of the collection of shorter poems consisting firstly of a discussion of the textual background, and secondly of an account of the inter-relationships of the poems of the

collection to form a coherent sequence. Leaving aside the question of the actual extent of Southwell's responsibility for the sequence, it might be argued that, since the order of the sequence is retrospective, the sequence as a work is certainly among the latest in date of Southwell's works, and that in treating it first, I have, as it were, put the cart before the horse. Though the motives for a chronological treatment are strong, however, they do not have an absolute claim and it will be found that the arrangement used here has its own logical justification. Thus, one might suggest that the first priority of literary studies is the establishment of a sound text. Fredson Bowers has stated it as a principle that "if we respect our authors we should have a passionate concern to see that their words are recorded and currently transmitted in as close a form to their intentions as we can contrive".(3) In discussing the problems of the text, surveying the canon of the shorter poems, and elucidating the intentions of Southwell and his anonymous editor, I have endeavoured to fulfil this first priority of literary studies which, according to Bowers, is the precondition of sound understanding and just critical appraisal.

At this point a further principle is apposite, which is that as a sound text is the precondition of understanding, so understanding is the precondition of just critical appreciation. It is expressed by Alastair Fowler when he says that "competence in the conventions is a prerequisite of useful value judgements".(4) Fowler's judgement of the state of Renaissance Studies is severe since he implies that despite the vast amount of explanatory and critical writing in the field, "descriptive adequacy" (by which, <sup>I take it,</sup> he means "competence in the conventions") has scarcely been achieved.(5) Hence the second stage in my treatment is an exploration of the literary 'system' of Southwell's poetry.

On the basis of the understanding gained from an analysis of the

shorter poems - and following a separate discussion of the long 'Saint Peters Complaint' - I take a more purely critical and appreciative approach to the poetry focusing upon those poems which this particular twentieth-century reader finds most interesting and enjoyable.

The concluding chapter draws together various points of commentary scattered throughout the thesis in an attempt to elicit the central idea of Southwell's writings, which is also, I would suggest, the most authoritative interpretation of his life. Like previous commentators I see the poetry and the life as analogous, but where they see the poetry as natural, reflecting the nature of the man, and disparage the artificiality of the poems as pandering to the debased taste of the time, I see it as artificial, reflecting an artificial man. Nor would Southwell have demurred at this description, who described Christ and the Virgin Mary as 'framed' and 'wrought' by art.

## Chapter I

### Counter-Reformation Poetics

#### 1.0

##### Introduction.

The subject of this chapter is, broadly speaking, the Counter-Reformation poetics that governed the composition of Robert Southwell's Neo-Latin poetry. Since I would argue that the Neo-Latin poetry may be seen as a pattern for his English poetry, it follows - if my argument is correct - that such poetics are relevant for his English poetry also.

My treatment of Counter-Reformation poetics differs in important respects from influential accounts given by Louis Martz and Barbara Lewalski.<sup>(1)</sup> These two scholars are reference points that a student of Southwell, and of the Counter-Reformation in England could hardly ignore. Martz's The Poetry of Meditation is a standard work on Southwell and the influence of the Counter-Reformation on English poetry. The case of Lewalski is different. In pointedly all-but-ignoring Southwell, and minimizing the influence of the Counter-Reformation, she could be said to cover the same ground (albeit by implication), and to draw different conclusions.

Firstly, my account differs in putting emphasis on 'poetics' rather than on 'Counter-Reformation'; that is, on what belonged in common to the Renaissance literary community, rather than on what was exclusive to Catholic or Protestant. At the literal level of definition of 'poetics', as the established science of literature, it does not make sense to differentiate between Catholic or Protestant varieties. J.C. Scaliger was a Catholic, and an Italian, writing in the period of the Counter-Reformation. His Poetices libri septem is, therefore a Counter-Reformation poetics.(2) But although it is piously Catholic, it is in no way an expression of militant Catholicism; and, in fact served Catholic and Protestant alike as an authority for two hundred years. Many similar examples could be given of the 'indifference' of poetics - as befits an ancient science - to religious schism. Tasso's aggressive Catholicism was no bar to his being widely imitated by Protestant poets including Milton; and the 1580's, which witnessed a deepening of the schism between England and Rome, also witnessed an intensification of imitation of Italian models by English poets.(3)

Secondly, the emphasis is put - at least initially - on the formal and pedagogic poetics of which Scaliger's Poetices is the most important example, rather than on what might be called an 'extrapolated poetics'. Lewalski writes that her "argument proceeds by extrapolating from contemporary Protestant materials a substantial and complex poetics...".(4) The same could be said of Martz's The Poetry of Meditation except that it extrapolates from Catholic sources.

Although I concede that the approaches of Martz and Lewalski have yielded valuable insights, there must be doubts about the validity of 'extrapolation' as a means of ascertaining the literary system underlying sixteenth and seventeenth-century poetry when a more logical and direct route to such knowledge is available. As in



construing a foreign language one would have recourse to the grammar of that language rather than of another, so it seems to me, in construing poetry one should have recourse to the standard text books on poetry rather than the decrees of The Council of Trent, the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola, Sacred Emblem Books, or comparable material.

It might be assumed that the nature and influence of the formal, pedagogic poetics had been thoroughly investigated, and that the development of 'extrapolated poetics' was a sign that this line of enquiry had been exhausted. This is not the case. Seminal accounts of sixteenth-century poetic treatises are frequently misleading.(5) In addition other factors tend to distort the picture. Scholars have tended to regard the latter part of the sixteenth-century as a source for the various aspects of the Baroque. There has thus arisen an enormous interest in, for example, emblems and emblematic writing; topics which, though undeniably important, are peripheral elements of formal poetics. It is worth bearing in mind, as a corrective to this emphasis, that Counter-Reformation poetics arises out of, and is continuous with, the mainstream of Italian Humanism, and that "the Jesuits", in the words of an eminent scholar of Neo-Latin, "produced a large number of verse and prose writers who reveal thorough familiarity with the best classical Latin style".(6)

While one emphasis in modern discussion of Counter-Reformation poetics reflects a revival of interest in the artifice of what might be called the 'precious' style, another emphasis has arisen from the desire of Catholic critics to defend devotional poets from the supposed blemish of preciosity. Thurston describes the literary judgement of Southwell's contemporaries as "warped" by "Euphuism", and implies that Southwell adopted the style as a "disguise":

It is the conviction of the perfect earnestness and sincerity of Father Southwell's character which may cause some to be surprised, if not a little scandalized, at the

association of such a man, with a style so pretentious and artificial....None the less it should be remembered that the circumstances of missionary life in England necessitated the use of all sorts of disguises...(7)

*as I read him,*

Janelle takes up the analogy, and, <sup>as I read him,</sup> represents Southwell as shedding the disguise of artificiality to write in a more natural and sincere mode. He portrays Southwell as imbibing "at Rome the literary as well as the devotional spirit of the Counter-Reformation" to become in England "the head of a school" influencing "a line of devotional poets which begins with Donne and ends up with Crashaw".(8) He has however, a low opinion of the literary, and a correspondingly high opinion of the devotional spirit of the Counter-Reformation. Thus, he sees Southwell's early attempts at poetry as being "damped into frigidity by the literary theory which the Jesuits had evolved".(9) On his return to England, he shook off "the leading strings of literary orthodoxy" and Jesuit devotional practice emerged as "the most important feature of his literary personality".(10) Now this account of Southwell's development, as this study will show, is misleading. It results both from a critical misjudgement of the relative merits of poems in a precious, and of others in a plain style; and a misconstruction of the chronology of the poetry in deducing that the plain style was probably a later development. This error has been extremely influential in its effects, for Louis Martz used Janelle's "important book" as an authority for The Poetry of Meditation, which develops theories adumbrated by Janelle. If one might summarize by quotation, the following might be said to show the indebtedness to Janelle, and to express the core of Martz's argument:

But first [ie. before Donne and the seventeenth-century devotional poets] came Robert Southwell, seeking to reform English poetry by bringing to it certain arts that he had found flourishing on the Continent: the practice of religious meditation, and the conversion of the methods of profane poetry to the service of God.(11)

Although Martz nods in the direction of formal poetics, his whole emphasis in fact is given to the extrapolation of a poetics from devotional practice. It is ironic that the influential views of Martz have fed back into studies of Southwell, where they have had the effect of reinforcing, in the writings of more recent commentators, the views of Thurston and Janelle that Southwell's style is a disguise.

I do not want to deny the importance of these two aspects, of what might be called - to use Southwell's own terms - "art and devotion".(12) I would suggest, however, that approaching the poetry through formal poetics offers the possibility of setting the various aspects of the poetry in perspective so that no single aspect - meditation, the emblem, poetic wit, numerology, and so on - is given disproportionate prominence.

2.0

#### The extent and importance of Jesuit Latinity.

It will be clear why the initial statement of the subject was prefaced with the words 'broadly speaking'. I do not propose a comprehensive account of Counter-Reformation poetics, but the more limited task of examining the poetics sanctioned and taught by the Jesuit order. These were written in Latin and were chiefly concerned with Neo-Latin literature.

How far the Jesuits are representative of the Counter-Reformation is open to question. The received view is that they were its most committed exponents. Neither the Counter-Reformation nor the Jesuit order were monolithic movements however. Throughout the sixteenth century the Jesuits came under attack from various quarters for supposedly unorthodox and even heretical teaching. If the mainstream of the Counter-Reformation is "scholastic", then the Jesuits - with their love of humanistic learning, their preference for Platonic and

Neoplatonic philosophy, and their interest in science and mathematics - must be accounted mildly heterodox. Moreover the Jesuit order was riven by divisions - chiefly between pro and anti-Spanish parties, but extending also into the field of learning - which came close to splitting it.

Nevertheless, they attained by intensive literary and educational activity - becoming, proverbially, the schoolmasters of Europe - such a leading position, that Jesuit Latinity has been taken to be virtually synonymous with Counter-Reformation Latinity.

John Sparrow concludes his survey of Renaissance Latin poetry with the comment that:

By the end of the 1540's...the stream of Latin poetical production which had its source in Politian and Pontano...had subsided in Italy and diffused itself over Europe; and in the second half of the century, with the Counter-Reformation and the Jesuit Schools, the reader of Latin poetry finds himself in a different world.(13)

On the evidence of this article, and his anthology of Neo-Latin poetry, it is clear that Sparrow shares the inherited view that the period from the mid-sixteenth century was, for Italy, a period of cultural decline. I would suggest that this view is, at least in part, a relic of the Protestant reading of history that emerged in the eighteenth-century. The view of Italy entering upon a terminal decline while the vital spirits of Humanism migrated to northern, Protestant countries is belied by the influence that Italy continued to exert. Josef IJsewijn notes the same phenomenon as Sparrow, but gives it a more positive interpretation:

the fate of Latin had - at least in Italy - become by and large an affair of the Roman Catholic Church and of its religious orders; first and foremost in this are the Jesuits, who between 1600 and 1750 produced a large number of verse and prose writers who reveal thorough familiarity with the best classical Latin style.(14)

(The apparent discrepancy between the dates given by Sparrow and

IJsewijn is due to the fact that 1600 refers to the date from which there were a large number of Jesuit publications. The literary activity they reflect, however, stretches back at least a generation earlier. This observation may be verified in respect of Southwell, who died in 1595, but whose works were published more frequently in the seventeenth than in the sixteenth century.)

At least in the field of Neo-Latin religious verse, these numerous Jesuit poets exercised a significant influence upon English poetry. Bradner and McFarlane describe the influence in similar terms.

Bradner traces the rise of the Neo-Latin religious epigram in England to the influence of largely Jesuit writers. The first book of such poems by an Englishman appeared in 1596 and contained "little more than imitations of the conventional type already established" by Jesuits on the Continent.<sup>\*</sup>(15) McFarlane also notes the dominance of Jesuits in the later Renaissance in <sup>all</sup> the genres <sup>including</sup> of religious epigram and elegy. In discussing "new, fruitful attitudes" and developments arising in the Elizabethan period, he notes that:

with the advent of the Counter-Reformation there is quite a lot of religious verse which is indebted to foreign models, often provided by the Jesuits.(16)

and in discussing the Counter-Reformation he remarks that:

The Counter-Reformation's attitudes will appear more especially in the voluminous amount of poetry brought out by the Jesuits...Under James I and indeed after, these Jesuit poets find a ready audience in England.(17)

On the basis of this testimony one has serious doubts about Lewalski's argument that

the major seventeenth-century religious lyrists owe more to contemporary, English, and Protestant influences than to Counter Reformation, continental, and medieval Catholic resources.(18)

\* Apparently Bradner is mistaken as to the date of the book:

It is symptomatic of the bias of her argument that her discussion of Herbert's important Neo-Latin collection, Passio Discerpta, is confined to the merest glance in an endnote, and this in a weighty enough book of 536 pages. A strong case could be made for the opposite view. McFarlane sees the role of Neo-Latin poetry as being "a sort of John the Baptist to the vernacular".(19) In view of the influence and popularity of Jesuit Neo-Latin religious poetry in England from 1596 - around the time Hall identified and satirised a new vogue for vernacular verse on favourite Counter-Reformation subjects, the sorrows of St. Peter, Mary Magdalen, and the Virgin - it seems likely that continental and Counter-Reformation poetry exercised a powerful, though of course not exclusive influence on English vernacular religious poetry.(20)

Though it would be foolish to claim that the "different world" - to use Sparrow's phrase - is an unknown world, nevertheless it is under-explored. This is, in part, due to the view, already referred to, that the second half of the sixteenth-century was a period of catastrophic decline for Italy. It informs such a standard history of Neo-Latin literature as Wright and Sinclair's A History of Later Latin Literature which treats 1527 (the date of the sack of Rome) as marking the death of Latin literature in Italy, after which interest shifts to the "Northern Renaissance".(21) The more detailed history of Neo-Latin by Paul Van Tieghem, which covers a large number of authors and works in chapters organized according to genre, does not make any special reference to Jesuit Latinity.(22) It is only in recent years, and particularly with the recent publication of scholarly Neo-Latin anthologies, that the literary work of the Jesuits has been seen in perspective and allotted something like its due weight.(23)

A sketch of Jesuit poetics.

Before setting out in quest of 'Jesuit poetics' it would be as well to consider the view of Joseph Scallion that there is no such thing:

The vague norms expressed by [the Jesuit literary theorists] merely echo the commonplaces of Renaissance thinking...(24)

The effect of this, however, is to conjure the elaborate edifice of Renaissance poetics away into a puff of "vague norms". In truth, the vagueness belongs all to Scallion and not to the Jesuit writers who were seldom vague. Clearly the fact that there was nothing exclusive to the Jesuits in their poetics does not disqualify them from being described as 'Jesuit poetics' when taught and practised by Jesuits.

An obvious starting point for the investigation of Jesuit poetics would be Bernard Weinberg's A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance. Weinberg notes the impact of the Counter-Reformation in the following terms:

one may note an increase in the number of critics and theorists who display an ultra-Catholic attitude towards questions of literature. Some of these are churchmen, and they undoubtedly reflect the conclusions of the successive meetings of the Council of Trent - conclusions which tended to place stringent limitations on the practice and use of poetry. One may perhaps note this as a general development in the century, a repentance over the pagan excesses of the earlier years and a wish to rival if not overtake, the strait-laced Puritanism of the reformed churches.(25)

Weinberg draws attention to the role of the Jesuits in this 'development'. In citing a letter of 1576 from Francesco Panigarola to Cardinal Sileto, thanking him for the gift of the treatise Tractatio de perfectae poeseos ratione (1576), Weinberg notes "an interesting filiation among writers sharing the same point of view toward poetry". Panigarola writes in approving terms of Gambara (the

supposed author of the treatise), whom he describes as a friend, and whose master - he says - was Antonius Possevinus. All three, Weinberg points out, were Jesuits.(26) This 'filiation' is hardly surprising in view of the fact that Possevinus claimed to have written the treatise at the request of Gambara:

Atque et plures ante annos...rogati a Laurentia Gambara  
Brixiano Poeta, ut eius nomine tractationem de recta  
poeseos ratione scriberemus, assensimus...(27)

[Very many years ago Lorenzo Gambara of Brescia asked me to write on his behalf a treatise on the true method of poetry, and I agreed.]

(Possevinus's probable authorship of this treatise is also noted in the Dictionary of the Italian Humanists.) (28) The assignment of what must be one of the earliest Counter-Reformation treatises to Possevinus is a useful corroboration of the importance I will assign to him, in taking his treatise De poesi et pictura... (1593) as a document representative of Jesuit poetics during the time of Southwell's education.(29)

Weinberg does not view this development sympathetically. He characterises it as an unbalanced and destructive attack on poetry:

In the literary world itself, some such turnabout may be detected in the case of Tasso - there was a modicum of madness connected with it - who first imposed an allegorical interpretation upon his masterpiece, then proceeded to the disastrous "purification" of the Gerusalemme Liberata into the Gerusalemme Conquistata. Such a purification was in complete keeping with the wishes of those few theorists of whom I shall be speaking.(30)

He intends to imply that that there was "a modicum of madness" connected with the Counter-Reformation attempt to purify poetry, and that this attempt was as disastrous for poetry in general as for the specific example of Tasso's epic. He identifies the "rabid" theorists as the Jesuits: Gambara, Panigarola, and Possevinus:

[the] application of Platonic methods and ideas to the Christian attack upon poetry reaches its culmination in the



years after 1570. Gambara, Panicarola, Possevino see the whole art in the theological context of Catholicism - and a brand of Catholicism that condemns all forms of pleasure in the severest terms. Such an art as poetry, combining pleasure with utility or using pleasure as an instrument of utility, is immediately suspect because of the very presence of pleasure. It must either be prohibited in toto, or all such parts of it as cannot be salvaged for purposes of Christian indoctrination must be put under the ban. This may mean the exclusion of certain genres or certain poets or of whole ranges of poems having unacceptable subject matters or teaching undesirable lessons. An especially reprehensible body of poetry will be that produced by poets who were themselves not Christians, since in their works will be found not only vicious moral incitements but also the praises and the beauties of false religions. All pagan antiquity is the object of such a condemnation. Even in less rabid theorists, whose point of view is not specifically that of the Church, the desirability of reading, consulting, or citing the Greek and Roman poets is brought into question.(31)

While it is true that they base their discussion "of the art of poetry on the foundation of Christian theology" - requiring that poetry should serve moral decency and religious truth, and that obscenity, blasphemy, impiety and heresy should be expurgated - it is unfair to characterise their aims as an "attack upon poetry" or as requiring "that only Christian poetry is acceptable...[and that] all the poetry of pagan antiquity is [to be] condemned and discarded".(32)

Were this a fair account of the Jesuits' attitude to poetry, and especially classical poetry, it would be inexplicable that the Jesuits were from the mid-sixteenth century onwards the most active transmitters of classical literature, and that both they and their pupils made voluminous contributions to the literature of their times.

Before turning to a detailed study of the De poesi et pictura... of Possevino I would like to sketch an alternative view of Jesuit literary activities, of what might be called 'Jesuit Humanism'.

In giving little prominence to the Council of Trent or the rule of the Jesuit order, it should not be thought that I regard these as unimportant. Previous scholars, however, have sufficiently stressed their importance; to the extent that Jesuit poetics have been

virtually portrayed as an extension of Trent or of the devotional practice of the Jesuits. The character of Jesuit poetics, I would suggest, is better understood in relation to the development of classical studies in the sixteenth century.

The Jesuits were formally established in 1540 and by 1560 educational activities engaged three-quarters of their personnel (apart from Brothers and those in training). Jesuit schoolmasters were quick to adopt Scaliger as the authority on Latin literature. One may, perhaps, see Scaliger as codifying in an authoritative form the researches of the earlier humanists. Thus Hutton notes that generic theory (in this case, of the epigram) becomes "more definite and elaborate until Scaliger is...reached; then, among the schoolmasters, the principles, mainly formed on Scaliger, pass from one to another almost unchanged", Jesuit treatises on poetics giving Scaliger's definition word for word or with slight variation.(33) The prestige and authority of Scaliger lasted for two centuries, and it is an interesting implication that the period 1560-1760 has a broad unity over-arching its sub-divisions into Renaissance, Baroque, Enlightenment and so on.

But if Scaliger is the summation of one aspect of the Renaissance going back to Petrarch, which is primarily philological and concerned with the recovery of Latin texts, there is another aspect concerned with the recovery and understanding of Greek texts to which he was less sympathetic. (Hutton notes "the mainly Latin bias of Scaliger's interests".)(34) Frances Yates refers to this dual character of the Renaissance perhaps too strongly when she writes that:

It cannot, I think be sufficiently emphasised that these two Renaissance experiences are of an entirely different order, using different sources in a different way, and making their appeal to different sides of the human mind.(35)

Nevertheless, one would agree with her broad argument, and suggest

that it is the fusion of Greek (including Alexandrian and Byzantine) with Latin influences that gives the second half of the sixteenth century its particular character and is responsible for the rise of literary 'Mannerism' and the 'Baroque'. I would cite here as a particular instance of a widespread tendency the trend-setting Italian poet Luigi Groto. According to Hutton, he "fairly ransacked" the Greek Anthology and it was "in his and the succeeding generation of vernacular poets that...[the influences of the Anthology] were most in evidence".(36) The nature of such influence is indicated by Hutton's comment that Groto showed "many of the vices of style that later insured the success of Marino and his school".(37) The aptness of the choice of Groto as a poetic weather-vane is corroborated by Fucilla who singles out his Rime (1577) as marking the revival of the device of correlative verse.(38) The device was almost universally employed by European poets in the following decades and is symptomatic of a complex of features that comprise what might be called variously a 'mannered', 'precious', or 'embroidered' style. The Anthology was a key source for these features, among which one might list emblems, conceits, figure poems, acrostics, riddles, and of course correlation and other syntactical patterning. Terminology is a problem but in my view the most satisfactory account of this style is given by Ernst Curtius who establishes a strong precedent for the use of the descriptive phrase 'literary mannerism'.(39)

One would also suggest that the extent to which this secondary phase of humanism was a factor - especially among Italian humanists - in the Counter-Reformation, has not been sufficiently emphasized. As in the case of Latin, so Greek studies were eagerly pursued by the Jesuit order. Hutton says that the decline in Greek studies was temporarily stayed by the establishment of the Jesuit schools.(40) A striking feature of Greek culture, as it was developed and was transmitted in its long history is its integration of literature and

philosophy, and of Pagan and Christian culture. This is perhaps due to the continuity of Greek education and the ideal of a cultivated man as combining the ascetic philosopher with orator and literary man. Thus we find the Greek Fathers christianising Plato, reading the Classics and writing religious poems which are included in the Anthology.(41)

What gave Greek studies their potent appeal was the sense of a living classical tradition which antedated the Latin tradition, stretching from the early sources of Hermes Trismegistus to the relatively recent Byzantine Empire and the living world of Greek religion and scholarship. The modern Greek scholar believed he had discovered a tradition older and more authentic than that previously known through Latin, and at the same time felt himself to be part of this ancient living tradition.

This cultural integration is reflected in the choice of Greek texts that Christian humanists studied. They fall into three main categories. Most important are philosophical and theological writings. These comprise not only Plato and Aristotle, but also Neoplatonic writings such as the Corpus Hermeticum, and the works of the Greek Fathers such as Origen, Basil and Gregory of Nazianzenus. A further category would include Greek science and mathematics, in which the Jesuits were eminent. A third grouping would include Greek literature, of which the Anthology was best known and most influential in this period. According to Hutton, certain Jesuits took "an unusual interest in the Greek Anthology" and it "came to play a part in Jesuit education".(42)

I would argue that it is possible to identify as originating in these Greek studies certain elements - Neoplatonism, an interest in such diverse topics as mathematics and Egyptian antiquity, and literary preciousity - that in combination with the better established Latin studies of the older Humanists, account for the stylistic

changes of the later sixteenth century.

It is more than a change of style, it is a change of orientation.

According to Frances Yates:

The humanist's bent is in the direction of literature and history; he sets an immense value on rhetoric and good literary style. The bent of the other tradition is towards philosophy, theology, and also science (at the stage of magic). The difference reflects the contrast between the Roman and the Greek mind. Again, in the Latin humanist tradition, the dignity of man has quite another meaning from that which it has in the other tradition. For Poggio Bracciolini, the recovery of dignity consists in casting off bad mediaeval Latin and dreary mediaeval and monastic ways of life, and the attempt to emulate in his person and surroundings the social pre-eminence, the sophisticated grandeur, of a noble Roman. For Pico, the dignity of man consists in man's relation to God, but more than that, in Man as Magus with the divine creative power.(43)

It is clear from the context that Yates intends Bracciolini and Pico to stand as typical representatives of their respective traditions.

Though there is a clear distinction to be drawn between the Renaissance Magus and the orthodox Jesuit, there are sufficient parallels for the comparison to be illuminating. As much as for Ficino, or Bruno, it was possible for a Jesuit such as Possevin to think of himself as belonging to a living Hermetic tradition. Nesca Robb writes of Ficinian philosophy attempting to take the kingdom of Heaven by storm.(44) It may be simply a coincidence that this is one of Southwell's favourite texts, but I doubt it. Ficino and his pupil Pico della Mirandola were among Possevin's intellectual heroes, and it is likely that his views were widely shared in the Jesuit order. There is a strong presumption that Southwell's conviction of the godlike nature of the soul which is properly a native of heaven, from which it is exiled and to which it must win its return, is representative of Jesuit Neoplatonism.

The topic of the godlike creative power of man is very closely related to the view of God as a craftsman. Thus Curtius sees arising in the later sixteenth century a theological poetics around the key

topos of Deus Opifex. He links this to the return - in Humanistic Catholic research - to the early Greek Fathers. (He is writing about Spain but the Jesuit order started in Spain and the ideological trend that Curtius identifies - "more patristics, less Scholasticism" - is also a feature of the Jesuits.)(45) The Greek Fathers were strongly influenced by Neoplatonism and they stress the divinity to which man may attain in a way that may sound unfamiliar and almost blasphemous.(46) A multitude of references to God as author, painter, embroiderer, and so on, illustrate the Renaissance view of the divine nature of art; and of human art as a kind of incarnation of divine art. To a writer such as Southwell, the likeness between divine and human creative power is evident and to be cultivated: "Christ himselfe...gave...all men... a paterne to know the true use of this measured and footed stile."(47)

4.0

I turn now to the treatise De poesi et pictura... of Antonio Possevino. Before giving an account of the treatise, however, it is necessary to explain why this particular document should be singled out.

Quite simply the treatise is a uniquely valuable and authoritative documentary source for the poetics taught in Jesuit schools and colleges in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Although the treatise was first published in 1593, it reflects his early studies in Greek philosophy and literature during the 1550's, and literary teaching in schools during the 1560's and 1570's when Possevino played a dominant role in shaping the Jesuit educational system. During the latter part of his career Possevino fell into political disgrace which still obscures his true importance; though this was fully apparent to his contemporaries. Matthaeus Raderus, for example, in the introduction to his important edition of Martial

listed Possevinus with Scaliger, Minturno, Correa, and Pontanus (Spanmuller) as one of the chief modern authorities on poetics.

A more detailed account of Possevinus's career is given in an appendix as evidence for this estimate. A further reason why his career deserves detailed consideration is for the light it throws upon the intellectual and political history of the Jesuits. To put the matter simply, Possevinus might be seen as representing an Italian Humanist party within the Church and the Order which regarded Neoplatonism - suitably harmonised with Aquinas, as indeed Ficino and Pico intended - as the true Christian theology.<sup>(48)</sup> That <sup>this</sup> 'party' had powerful support is indicated by Clement VIII's praise of the Neoplatonic philosopher Francesco Patrizi, who he invited to Rome to teach. Patrizi taught in Rome from the spring of 1592 to his death in 1597, keeping up a continuous polemic against Aristotle. He was accused of heresy and his Nova de universis philosophia was placed on the index.<sup>(49)</sup> This event might be taken as an indication of a change in the intellectual climate, marked by the condemnation of Platonism as a basis of Christian theology, a growing suspicion of the Greek Fathers such as Origen, the condemnation of Galileo, and the adoption of an attitude of unyielding hostility towards Protestantism. The common view that such positions were an integral part of the Tridentine system and the Counter-Reformation is misleading since they were not in the ascendant till the turn of the century. It is in this context of 'reaction' that, until recently, Catholic interpretations of their own history were shaped. Herein lies the reason why a modern Jesuit, Joseph Scallan, can state that Southwell's "alleged Platonism...simply does not exist" and "there is no significant sense in which Southwell can be called a Platonist."<sup>(50)</sup> Scallan's use of the word 'alleged' betrays the hostile attitude which became ascendant in the late 1590's as a result of Spanish and Dominican pressure, and to some extent in opposition to the Jesuits. Scallan's hostility, we

shall see, is in stark contrast to the attitudes towards Platonism of Southwell's Jesuit contemporaries, and almost certainly, of Southwell himself.(51)

5.0

An introduction to Possevino's 'De poesi et pictura...'

I referred to the treatise as a uniquely valuable as well as authoritative document for Jesuit poetics in the sixteenth (and indeed seventeenth) century. I would go further and suggest that its value extends far beyond the narrow scope of Jesuit poetics.

It is valuable for two chief reasons which are closely related. The first is attributable to the exceptional length of Possevino's active intellectual life which makes the treatise a record of the transition between the supposedly "different worlds" of Italian Humanism which came to an end - according to several historians - around the mid-century, and a new world of Counter-Reformation literature dominated by the Jesuits whose character is best exhibited by works published after 1600. Possevino firmly bestrides this supposed divide and shows that the two worlds are, in fact, continuous. IJsewijn writes that:

while Joachim Du Bellay was in Rome from 1553-1557, the influence of the Latin poets (Basilus Zanchi, Laurentius Gambara, the Capilupi etc.) was still so decisive that the author of the Defense...de la langue francaise started to write Latin verses.(52)

Now this is precisely the milieu that Possevino belonged to: dedicating a poem to Du Bellay, writing a treatise for Gambara, publishing the Capilupi. The poetic tastes and interests of these early years are fully represented in the treatise which in other respects is an up to date record of the latest poetic developments right up to the closing years of the sixteenth century. The treatise is thus a probably unique bridge spanning a half-century of Italian



Neo-Latin poetry. There is nothing comparable in sixteenth-century England; and in any age such intellectual longevity is rare.

The second reason for the special value of the treatise is related to the first. Just as the treatise is a bridge spanning a half-century of Italian Latin poetry and poetics, so it is also a bridge between neo-classical poetics, of which Scaliger is the summation, and a new poetics consisting of topics not dealt with by traditional theory. By 'new poetics' I mean certain topics identified by modern scholarship as important for later sixteenth-century poetry - for example, emblems, numerology, and meditation - which are not dealt with in traditional poetic theory. A weakness of some modern approaches to Renaissance poetry has been a disproportionate emphasis upon such topics and the erection of theories of poetry upon subsidiary parts of poetics proper. There is an academic army of specialists on the emblem, and a growing band of numerologists. Possevino treats of these topics, albeit mainly in his account of pictorial art rather than poetry; and the value of his treatise is in enabling us to see sixteenth-century poetics as a whole, albeit an incoherent and divided whole in which the more traditional system of Scaliger is combined with these new elements. Nor would it, I believe, be too much of an oversimplification to see this combination of old and new as corresponding to the double Renaissance of Latin and Greek studies of which Frances Yates writes.

Both the method and the layout of the treatise illustrate these two aspects of chronological 'depth' of reference, and 'breadth' of treatment of poetry and the the visual arts. To take the first aspect, the treatise is a densely packed accumulation of references to, and quotations from, literary authorities, as well as selections of Christian poetry illustrating how each genre may be christianised. The authorities gathered from the ancients - both Pagan and Christian - and the moderns run into many hundreds. Nevertheless we can see

significant indications in the choice of authorities. Among those one would expect - Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, the poets themselves - certain less expected figures are given prominence: Hermes Trismegistus, St. Gregory of Nazianzenus, Pico della Mirandola, Ficino. In the whole treatise, the highest and most enthusiastic praise is reserved for St. Gregory and Pico. (53)

As an accumulation of references the treatise is like a rich archaeological site recording not only the history of poetry from the earliest times, but also Possevino's own literary career. The Capilupi who were prominent in the 1550's are extensively treated. The poetics is greatly indebted to Scaliger's Poetices libri septem published in 1561. He also includes some polemical pieces attacking profane poetry and urging poets to devote their talents to the service of religion and morality "written many years before" and presumably dating back to the 1570's. In addition he makes extensive reference to contemporary figures such as the Neoplatonic philosopher Patrizi; and gives generous selections of contemporary poetry, much of it written by Jesuits. A comparable anthology of English poets would be a selection of poems from Skelton to Donne, compiled by a man who had known the poets personally.

With regard to its sources, the treatise is an amazing welter of references; a kind of prose cento of Humanistic and Patristic learning. However, in layout and organization it is clear and orderly. It consists of three distinct parts. First is a comprehensive poetics closely modelled on Scaliger's Poetices..... As the centre-piece of his work Possevino prints what he calls the "golden book" of Macarius Mutius, which consists of two essays on Christian poetry and a short Christian epic. The third part of the treatise - on painting, sculpture, emblems and imprese - is only loosely related to the main body of the text. Possevino speaks of it as having been 'added on', implying that its inclusion represents a

modification of his original plan, and illustrating a growing interest in the relation between poetry and the visual arts. As with the 'De poesi' so the 'De pictura' shows signs of having been composed over a number of years. The earlier chapters deal with the mainstream visual arts - painting and sculpture - defining their proper subject-matter and laying down laws of decorum in the treatment of sacred subjects, and in a long closing chapter he treats of emblems and imprese.

The 'De pictura' will be of particular interest to the modern reader because of the great attention that has been given in recent times to the influence on literary composition of certain of its topics. Mario Praz's Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery is virtually an account of Emblematic literature.(54) More recently scholars such as Alistair Fowler have emphasised the importance of spatial and numerological composition in poetry, an aspect of the visual arts which Possevino stresses:

Ab arithmetica tamen, ac geometria, quin et ab optica  
magnas accipit Pictura commoditates...(Poss. p.470)

[However, painting receives great benefits from arithmetic  
and geometry, and indeed from optics...]

He does not, however, make an explicit declaration that arithmetic and geometry are necessary to the poet, although he could be read to imply this:

Quae Poeticae, eadem Picturae conveniunt monita et leges...  
Porro imitatrix Poetica, imitatrix et Pictura. Et ut  
calamus penicilli, sic penicillus calami aemulus, ut  
utrique invicem sibi suorum laborum commodent usum.(p.470)

[The same caveats and rules that apply to poetry apply to  
painting...Furthermore, as poetry is an imitator, so is  
painting; and as the pen is emulous of the pencil, so is  
the pencil of the pen, so that each adapts their joint  
labours to its own use.]

Another school of critics headed by Louis Martz have emphasised the influence of devotional practices on poetic composition; to the extent that systems of poetics have virtually been extrapolated from devotional manuals. Perhaps significantly, the topic of religious

meditation is not touched on at all in the 'De poesi', though it is treated in the 'De pictura'.

Obviously the 'De pictura' is seriously intended as a guide for the visual arts, but much that is said in this part is also applicable to literature and may be regarded as a kind of supplementary 'poetics' covering topics not dealt with in the 'poetics' proper.

## 6.0

In giving an account of the aspects of the 'De poesi' that are especially relevant to the distinctive features of Counter-Reformation poetry, it is possible to be severely selective. There is considerable repetition in the many passages in which Possevino condemns secular poetry and insists that poetry should serve religion and morality. Moreover, his treatise is comprehensive, covering all the traditional topics and genres, and all the notable Latin and Greek poets of ancient and modern times. From this it is possible to isolate and illustrate topics and genres that are particularly relevant to later sixteenth and early seventeenth-century religious verse.

As a first point, it should be noted that although the treatise is wholly concerned to propagate Christian poetics and poetry, this is not its distinctive feature. This might seem a little paradoxical, since it is the total subordination of poetry to religion and morality that is usually identified as the main character of Counter-Reformation poetics. In his religious and moral aims, Possevino is restating - very often by extensive quotation - a view of poetry which finds extensive support throughout history. It is significant that he prints the "golden book" of Macarius Mutius as the centre-piece of the treatise, and quotes at great length the treatise on Virgil attributed to Constantine. These instances exemplify the extent to which Possevino is the mouthpiece of a long tradition. For

its distinctive characteristics I would look elsewhere to its reflection of contemporary intellectual and social movements; such as, for example, the interest in Neoplatonism as a Christian philosophy, or the very rapid expansion of college education. Thus I would summarise its distinctive and most relevant characteristics under four heads. First there is its philosophical and theological orientation in the Neoplatonic tradition. Second there is a profound and detailed indebtedness to Scaliger. Third, and related to the second, is a systematic and analytical approach to classical poetry, aimed at helping college pupils to appropriate the golden elocution of the ancient poets without necessarily coming into contact with their paganism and obscenity. And fourth is his treatment of the popular genres of Neo-Latin poetry with copious illustration from contemporary poets, reflecting contemporary poetic taste.

1. The chief implication of Possevin's Neoplatonism is a view of the world which is often regarded as typical of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Nevertheless, at least in Possevin's case it is firmly linked with the Neoplatonic tradition. Very briefly, it is the view that appearances are 'veils' hiding philosophical and theological truth. Such symbolic appearances may be the direct workmanship of God (as in Nature's book of symbols); or of man, as in Moses' use of symbols to veil theological truth in the Bible. This knowledge of the symbolism of appearances, and the skill to enshrine truth in symbolic form, was the gold which the Hebrews took from the Egyptians, which passed also to the Greeks, and which the modern Christian must in turn take from pagan poets and philosophers.

For this reason, says Possevin, both Greek and Latin Fathers diligently studied the poets not so much for elegant style as to confute the errors of the pagans with the wisdom of Greek philosophy which is a natural testament. Just as the Hebrews acquired the gold of the Egyptians, and David the sword of Goliath, so Christians should

wrest from among the pagans, weapons which properly belong to Christians.(p.414)

The converse of this is that the modern poet or artist, following the pattern of God, Moses, and the Greek poets and philosophers, should veil truth in symbols or poetic 'fictions', which so long as they do not involve pagan obscenity, may be taken from the ancient poets. Possevino quotes as examples the fictions that the earth is supported by columns, that it is bound by a golden chain, that rumour is a monster, that time is a serpent biting its own tail; and recommends as sources Hermes Trismegistus, Plato, Maximus Tyrius, and especially the Fathers who were wonderfully inspired by the Holy Spirit.(p.415)

It is in such a context of ideas that the sixteenth-century idea of poetic 'wit' should be understood; that is, as a means of encoding truth so as not to cast pearls before swine, but rather to draw the worthy soul into a deeper understanding of truth. This applies not only to emblems, imprese, and conceits, but also and especially to the typological relations - or divine conceits - which play such a large part in Southwell's poetry.

2. That the framework of Possevino's poetics derives from Scaliger's Poetices is revealed both explicitly and implicitly by Possevino's first chapter. Possevino lists the topics that a Poetics should cover, and follows this with a list of authorities in the field. After the classical authorities - Plato, Aristotle, and Horace - he gives a list of modern authorities which culminates in Scaliger:

Accessit denique Latina Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri Poetica, spissuum sane opus, et perspicacissimi ingenii, atque ingentis in viro eruditionis argumentum.(p.408)

[Finally we come to the Latin poetics of Julius Caesar Scaliger, plainly a substantial work and a proof of the man's piercing wit and huge erudition.]

Implicitly the indebtedness to Scaliger is demonstrated by the fact

that Possevino's listing of the topics of Poetics closely follows the order and wording of Scaliger's Index of contents, as can be shown by collating the relevant portion of Possevino's opening sentence with the corresponding items in Scaliger's Index.

<u>Possevino's first sentence</u>	<u>Scaliger's Index</u>
[1] Poeseos originem,	Iii. poeseos origo
[2] ac poematum per genera, et modos divisionem:	Iiii. Poematum per modos divisio
[3] materiam item, quae ad pedes  pertinet:	IIii. Materia poeseos.
[4] praeterea partitionem eorum, ad quae referuntur personarum expressio, ceteraeque peristases, ac virtutes Poetae, nimirum prudentia, efficacia, sive energia, varietas, suavitas.	IIii. Rerum divisio IIiii. Expressio personarum  IIIxxvi. Prudentia IIIxxvii. Efficacia. IIIxxviii. Varietas.
[5] Figuram quoque, ac figuram species.	IIIxxix. Figura.
[6] deinde characterem, hoc est formam dicendi multiplicem,	IVi. Character.
[7] addo et Imitationem atque Iudicium;	V. De Imitatione et Iudicio
[8] Et Graecorum cum Latinis,	Vii. Graecorum cum Latinis collatio
[9] atque horum cum iis, qui Italica hodierna lingua scripserunt Collationem...(p.408)	

In the main Possevino is content to direct the reader to Scaliger as the best authority on the technical side of poetry. He is, however, concerned to correct what he sees as Scaliger's over-emphasis on Pagan rather than Patristic sources, and his insufficient respect for the Catholic Church (which he attributes to Protestant printers).(p.408)

3. The third aspect that marks the distinctively Counter Reformation character of the treatise is its pedagogical intention - though it is intended rather as a guide to teachers than students.

It comprises a systematic analytical approach to literature whose end is to enable students to imitate classical elocution. It is this systematic, analytical, schoolmasterly approach - answering the needs of a rapidly expanding and largely Jesuit college system - which differentiates Scaliger and Possevino's works from those of earlier generations of Humanists. As a means of teaching classical elocution

without exposing pupils to pagan obscenity, he proposes an analysis of classical texts into elements which may stand as examples for imitation. He divides these elements into four groups or loci communes: descriptions, comparisons, grave and moral sentences, and fictions or poetic inventions.(p.415)

Clearly the analysis of classical literature into detached set-pieces of specific types is an important factor in shaping Renaissance poetry. They form, as it were, a kit of parts which may be combined in longer poems or sometimes stand alone as shorter poems. This method of imitation can be seen to have had an effect in shaping the shorter poem, for each of these 'common-places' gave rise to a particular genre of short poem. Only one of Southwell's poems could be described as a description ('A Vale of Teares') though there are a number of poems which consist of a series of proverbial moral sentences. For Southwell the place of comparison and poetic fiction was largely filled by biblical typology, and a number of poems - particularly those of the 'Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ' - may be said to belong to a genre of poems based on comparison and poetic invention; the most characteristic genre, one would suggest, of Metaphysical poetry.

Thus the pedagogical approach played an important role in the process of metamorphosis whereby classical poetry, analysed into set-pieces for imitation, provided the patterns for the shorter poems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

4. The most important aspect of the 'De poesi' from my point of view, however, is its treatment of the genres, for it is here that Possevino reflects changing contemporary taste and gives the most specific guidance for composition. The two most important genres in religious poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were undoubtedly the elegy and the epigram. These are the genres that largely shaped Southwell's poetry. However no survey of genre theory



could be complete without some attention to the most prestigious genre, the epic. In addition Possevino strongly favoured the cento, and his writing on this form is generally illuminating.

a. The Cento

Possevino was a strong advocate of the merits of the cento as the best means of appropriating the wealth of classical eloquence for Christian use, as formerly the Hebrews had taken possession of the wealth of the Egyptians.(p.436) His preference is in part a result of his personal history. As a young man he had been a friend of the Capilupi, had published their work, and had himself tried his hand at a Virgilian Cento which he dedicated to Joachim du Bellay. But though the Cento did not match up to the importance Possevino attributed to it as a literary genre, it remained for a long time an important exercise in the teaching of Latin verse composition, and though poets abandoned the strict form of the Cento its underlying principles of appropriating and piecing together elements of classical verse are very much apparent in the Renaissance.

Thus, while the cento has been generally held in contempt by modern critics, what Possevino says about the cento is very illuminating for Renaissance poetry generally.

He begins by dividing all literary compositions into two kinds. The first is that which is a source of subject matter. The second is that whose subject matter is taken from elsewhere. This second kind may in turn be divided into two kinds: that which expresses its subject matter in its own words; and that which expresses its subject matter in the words of others. The cento comes in this latter category.(p.436-437)

This logical schema is intended to be a proof of the superiority of the cento over other forms of poetry. Apart from the very small category of works which are original sources of matter, the vast

majority of works will fall in the second main division of works which are derivative in their subject matter. Those which derive their subject matter from Christianity will be superior to those which derive it from pagan sources. On the other hand those who derive their language from the best pagan writers, and especially Virgil, will be superior in point of eloquence to those who use their own language. Of the various combinations possible, that of Christian subject matter and Virgilian language - the cento - will be the best; while that of pagan subject matter and the writer's own language will be the worst.

The cento, then, for Possevino represents the ideal Christian poem, not only as a programme but also as a solid achievement. He lavishes praise on its best known practitioners, Laelius and Julius Capilupus who were so skilful, he says, as to rival Virgil himself.(p.437)

Significantly he compares their method of joining half-lines from widely separated parts of Virgil's poems to that of a worker in mosaic - a maker of emblems - who joins together many different kinds and sizes of stone to make a single excellent work. This is an important topic to which we shall return.

b. Epic

Of all the genres, Possevino treats epic most extensively, devoting a chapter to Homer, several to Virgil, three chapters to reprinting two treatises of Mutius on Christian epic and his short epic De triumpho Christi, as well as devoting a chapter to it in his treatment of the individual genres. Much of this, however, is concerned with defending Biblical subjects as proper subjects for epic, and with urging poets, as they hoped to be saved, to turn to sacred subjects.

An exception, however, is a comment on ornament which is highly relevant to the other genres. He writes that:

nec maior aliunde sperandus est ornatus, qua ex ipsis rebus, in quibus admirabiles thesauri latent. Quin si quid addendum, vel tanquam Emblema intexendum est, expedit ut ex ipsis potius mysteriis, atque aureis illis, ac sacrosanctis velaminibus petatur, quibus ipse Spiritus Sanctus arcana contextit...(p.443)

[Nor can one hope for any greater ornament from elsewhere than from these things [Scripture] which conceal wonderful treasures. So that, indeed, if anything is to be added, or inwoven as an emblem, it is fitting it be sought especially from these mysteries and those golden and sacred veils in which the Holy Spirit has concealed secret things.]

The passage corroborates what we said earlier of Possevino's view of God as as emblem-maker, veiling truth in symbolic appearances. The primary source of such symbols is the Bible, followed by God's works in Nature. It complements also what was said with regard to the emblem in connection with the cento. There the 'mosaic' aspect of the Emblem was emphasised. Here it is the symbolic image or episode itself; though 'intexendum' (interweaving) also directs attention to the method of producing the image. What the two sources suggest is a two-fold view of the Emblem, first as something pieced or woven together, and secondly as the symbol thus produced. In the context of poetry the pieces or strands are words, producing a verbal mosaic or 'web'. The glittering and intricate arrangements of words are emblematic as well as the 'conceit' they express. Scholars and critics have tended to direct their attention to the latter aspect, losing sight of the fact that in the Renaissance choice of words and syntax were seen as emblematic and conceited also, and that the two aspects were correlative.

c. The Epigram

Of all the genres discussed by Possevino, arguably the epigram was the most influential. A case could be made for the view that the Epigramma Sacra was an important influence on the shorter religious poems that form the largest part of 'Metaphysical poetry'. Indeed I would suggest that much 'Metaphysical' poetry should be regarded as

vernacular Sacred Epigrams. It is demonstrable, for example, that Crashaw's style, well before his conversion was formed largely by the imitation and translation of epigrams, among which were the work of Jesuits. And Possevino was a respected authority on the Neo-Latin epigram.

Much of Possevino's account follows Scaliger very closely. He differs in emphasis from Scaliger, however, in his recommendation of the Greek Anthology, and in his analysis of epigrams as either 'simplex' or 'multiplex'. In addition, he gives a selection of epigrams which are significant pointers to the new style and its underlying concepts.

He begins by stating that epigrams were invented as inscriptions - a point which implies their complementary relationship with emblems, a theme he does not develop here, but which resurfaces in his treatment of emblems. Its virtues are elegance, brilliance, precision, acuteness, and charm. It is essentially brief, containing a maximum of five distiches or ten lines - though this requirement came to be disregarded. Its wit should be wonderful ("admirabile") and novel ("novum"), as of something never heard before, and yet apposite and decorous, arising from the subject or occasion. Whoever masters these three aspects of brevity, wit and decorum will carry every point in the epigram.

He then goes on to an interesting technical analysis of the epigram which throws light on some characteristic structures of the vernacular as well as Latin 'Sacred Epigram'. Each epigram divides, he says, into an exposition and a clausula or conclusion. The exposition may be simple (unitary) or multiple. The simple is drawn from one 'place' or 'thing'. The multiple is drawn from several places or things, and might take the form, for example, of a series of comparisons or exempla.

The conclusion often consists of an exclamation or reflection

added as a finishing touch, a maxim, a comparison, or some verbal beauty corresponding to the exposition. These complete and square-off ("quadrent") the exposition.

In addition to these two structural principles (exposition/conclusion; simple/complex) there is a third determinant: the kind of language (genus orationis) employed, which falls into three divisions of style - high, middle, and low. The lofty and grave requires clarity of language and distinguished maxims. The middle requires polished and painted variety of speech, glittering and musical diction, and often should be as if measured out, so that like corresponds to like and unlike to unlike. Pointedness of sense and charm of language and thought should complement each other. The third, or lowest, refuses all decoration and requires pure latin speech, plainness and lucidity. In the Renaissance the highest style of epigram, the grave and lofty, was comparatively rare and most Sacred Epigrams may be divided between those in an ornate and those in a plain style.(p.446)

Taking together the formal description of unitary and multiple, and middle and low styles, we can see a recognisable pattern emerge. We will see that the unitary and the complex correspond to broad divisions of types of epigram to be found in the work, for example, of Herbert and Crashaw.

Among the specimens of the epigram that Possevino gives in his selection, I will focus on two poems by the influential Jesuit poet Francis Rémond, as illustrating simplicity and complexity.

The first is 'De Divini Verbi Incarnatione':

Vix hominem insigni similem sibi finxerat arte,  
Cum subito est hominis tactus amore Deus.  
Ut tamen aversa fugientem vidit amore,  
Qualis praecipites dum rotat amnis aquas,  
Quid faciam? dixit: quoties mihi iungere conor,  
Ex oculis toties evolat iste meis.  
An perimam? ast hominis nimio succendor amore.  
An sequor? at fugiet, quo magis ipse, sequar.  
Haud sequar, haud perimam: ne se mihi subtrahit umquam.

Neve Deum fugiat, mox erit ipse Deus.(p.447)

[Scarcely had God shaped man in his own image with excellent art than he was touched with love of man.  
But when he saw the fugitive turn away from his love like a stream's headlong rushing waters,  
he said, "What should I do? As often as I try to join him to me so often man flies from my sight.  
Should I destroy him? But I am fired by excessive love of man.  
Should I pursue him? But the more I pursue, the more he flees.  
I should not pursue or kill him lest he be lost to me forever, and lest he should fly from God, soon he will be God himself.]

In terms of Possevino's formula, the first nine lines are the exposition, the tenth line the clausula or conclusion. The exposition is narrative and hence (though not necessarily) simple, compressing into a brief anecdotal allegoria, the Creation, Fall and Incarnation. The plain style of the poem corresponds to the poem's equation of humanity and divinity, both through the Incarnation, and through the implied excellence of human art - so like that of God.

The excellent art of God and man is worth a note since it is one of the main concepts of late sixteenth-century poetics. God is like a sculptor in creation, and his 'art of love' in pursuing man (reminiscent of Ovid) is seen anthropomorphically. The converse of this is that the art of the human artist is divine.

This divine and excellent art is also 'new'. These poets feel themselves to be part of a new and audacious literary movement. Thus Horatius Torsellinus in his poem on St. Francis writes of the divine art of love that creates in Francis an image of Christ:

Quid coelestis amor non audes? fingis amantes  
Arte nova, effigies ut sit amantis amans.(p.449)

[What does heavenly love not dare? You shape lovers with new art, likenesses as a lover should be of his beloved.]

The audacity of heavenly love and art is boundless and the subject here is both God and man, as poet and lover. It is to the audacity of this new art of heavenly love that one should look for an explanation of the supposed 'excesses' and bad taste of seventeenth-century

poetry, for example in the work of Crashaw.

But to return to the 'De Divini Verbi Incarnatione', one would suggest that in its form and style it furnishes a pattern for several of Herbert's poems which would be classified as 'simple'. It is not only a matter of the translation of divine mysteries into anecdotal allegoria, but the way in which the poetic register itself - by treating God in a low style - humanizes God and divinizes man.

Of the second division of the epigram, the complex, I choose an influential example, again by Francis Remond, on the Magdalen:

Felices nimium gemini tua lumina fontes,  
Quaeque venit trita sedula gutta via.  
Se lacrymum esse tuam cuperet dum Vere tepenti  
Labitur in molles humida gemma rosas.  
Se manare oculis posset Pactolus ab istis,  
Aurifer hac iret ditior amnis aqua.  
Tam pretiosa pedes Domini nisi lamberet unda,  
Unda quid, Ah? quaerer, tam pretiosa peris.(p.448)

[Too happy your eyes twin springs  
and the busy teardrop which travels that well-worn road.  
The moist gem that falls among soft roses when spring is warming  
would desire to be your tear.  
If Pactolus could flow from your eyes,  
his gold-bearing stream would be enriched by this water.  
What water but this so precious water should have bathed  
the Lord's feet? I may lament that so precious, you perish.]

Here the first three couplets comprise the exposition. The first couplet implies the paradox that the Magdalen is happy, fortunate, fruitful in her grief-stricken repentance because such repentance is precious; too happy indeed in human terms because the value is in direct proportion to the suffering. This opens the way for the following conceits which illustrates the preciousness of the tears. In the first, her tears are envied by the 'moist gem' of spring dew upon the rose. In the second we are told that gold-bearing Pactolus would be enriched by this water. Both illustrations compound sensuous beauty and conventional value. Apart from the brevity required by the epigram, there is no reason why the comparisons might not be multiplied endlessly.

In the clausula or conclusion the poet sees why he should not complain that such precious drops are wasted - since only such precious water is proper for washing Christ's feet. We might read in this a statement about poetic style. Only the most precious things are suitable to serve Christ. The poetic equivalent of precious things is a 'precious' style, which is a proper offering and service to God.

As we have noted the 'complex' epigram lends itself to amplification. There is no limit - apart from the brevity of the epigram - upon the multiplication of comparisons or exempla. This could be illustrated by the use Crashaw made of this particular epigram in 'The Weeper' which is an expansion of this epigram with additions from Marino and others. Almost the whole of ~~Rey~~mond's epigram is present in 'The Weeper' which indeed keeps to the basic outline of the source poem. In noting the tendency of writers to expand the epigram into a longer form that would strictly fall within the category of elegy, it is well to remember that this is not a new phenomenon and is possible precisely because classical Latin elegy itself was so strongly influenced by the Greek epigram. As Hutton says we prefer "to think of the Greek epigram as the comparatively unstable, but nobler form, the brief elegy, written before and during the Alexandrian age".(55)

#### d. The Elegy

As poets increasingly followed the example of the Anthology in over-running the ten line maximum of the epigram, it became harder to differentiate between the long epigram and the short elegy, and what was said earlier about the importance of the sacred epigram for vernacular religious poetry might almost be repeated in respect of the shorter 'sacred elegy'. Thus Possevino begins his discussion of the Elegy by saying that all that may be said of the epigram may be said



also of the Elegy, save that Elegy is an ampler and freer form.(p.449)

Because of its greater length the concentration of ornament should be less. It should be - in an image that recalls the eroticism of much Latin elegy - tenuously clothed ("veste tenuissima"). Its subject matter is generally, though not always, "quaerimonia" - or complaint. Occasionally its subject will be the answering of a prayer, the bringing of the relief for which the suppliant has been begging. The special feature of the elegy is its power to move, to sway the affections. Because of this, care must be had that the materials of the poem are suitable to the subject; that we weep with the sorrowful and rejoice with the joyful. Elegy must sometimes have its hair bound up, sometimes let it down. Because of its affective character, it requires frequent apostrophes, exclamations, and repetitions. Because of its power to move, it gives religious men a great opportunity to implant timely instruction and to sway minds towards the love of God. While Ovid, Propertius and Tibullus should be the model of a precious style, subject matter should be drawn from Christian sources such as Gregory of Nazianzenus and the scriptures, especially the Psalms and Lamentations.(p.449-450)

Arguably the special contribution of the elegy lies in those features which make it particularly appropriate for certain types of devotional verse. It is particularly fitted for petitionary prayer and lamentation; indeed it is so often a medium of prayer and petition that 'preces' might serve as a metonymy for the genre. It is frequently dramatic, and therefore is appropriate for picturing sacred scenes and reporting the words of the chief actor. Two of the elegies that Possevino reprints consist of Mary Magdalen's sorrow at finding the empty tomb, and her joy on meeting the risen Christ. Because the poet weeps with the sad, and rejoices with the joyful, it is particularly suitable for religious meditation in which the poet dramatises the sacred scene and enters into the suffering or joy of

the protagonists. Significantly these are the main characteristics that Louis Martz attributes to devotional meditation.

An interesting point which Possevino touches on but does not explore in detail is spatial composition. Often, he says, the beginning and end of an elegy will correspond with each other, and this principle may be extended so that later points of a poem correspond to earlier.(p.450) He seems to be referring here to 'ring' composition. Southwell does not employ ring composition in his poetry, but in all his longer poems he uses the very similar device of giving special importance to the exactly central point or episode in a poem.

The larger scale spatial composition which Possevino notes as common in the elegy would seem to be the counterpart of syntactical patterning in the epigram, in which language is:

quasi dimmensa, ut paria paribus respondeant, pugnantia  
referantur, compleantque communia...(p.446)

[as if measured out, so that equal parts correspond to each  
other, unequal parts are brought in, and the words in  
common make up the sum...]

This intricate syntactical patterning - comparable to mosaic, embroidery, or fine jewellery - is one aspect of emblematic art, the other being the veiling of truth in 'emblematic' or symbolic appearances. In both aspects the human artist is understood as imitating divine craftsmanship. If one had to select one aspect of Possevino's treatise that notably supplements Scaligerian poetics and illuminates the change in poetic style in the half century following the publication of the Poetices in 1561, it would be the recurrent emphasis on emblematic art that one would point to.

De pictura.

I suggested earlier that the De pictura could be seen as a supplementary poetics, and that as such it treats topics of great importance for sixteenth and seventeenth century poetry which are passed over in the Scaligerian formal poetics.

The case for such a view is strong. Possevino emphasizes the similar and complementary character of poetry and the visual arts and focuses a disproportionate attention upon their juncture in emblems and imprese, while his account of the technique of visual arts is slight and consists mainly in referring the reader to relevant authorities among the ancients and moderns.

He begins by emphasizing that the same laws and warnings apply to Poetry and Painting.(p.470) It is clear from what follows that he means more than that both are bound to be moral and religious. Both are imitative arts that emulate each other and copy each other's treatment of subjects. The Greeks called them by the same name 'graphidein' which refers to the faculty of description and delineation.(p.470) It is reasonable, I think, to take Possevino at his word and to regard what he says about the choice and treatment of subjects in painting as being equally applicable to poetry.

There now occurs an odd shift. He goes on to say that Picture is indebted to Arithmetic, Geometry and Optics; so much so that without knowledge of Arithmetic and Geometry, an artist could scarcely achieve anything of note.(p.470) Now we know from recent research that numerological and spatial - or geometrical - composition is an important feature of Renaissance poetry. Indeed Alistair Fowler suggests that the De triumpho Christi which Possevino reprints and recommends as a model, uses spatial composition.(56) And we have seen that Possevino recommends 'ring composition' in elegy. Moreover this passage immediately follows one in which he has been emphasizing the

similarity of Painting and Poetry as graphic arts. Why then does he not explicitly include poetry in his comments on arithmetic and geometry? Are we justified in referring these comments to poetry also?

I suggest that we are justified, and that the reason for the apparent omission of poetry in this context is that he regards this aspect of poetic art as being a secret which should be veiled. In the passage that immediately follows he says that ancient artists taught the secrets of graphic art only to intelligent boys who were vowed to silence lest such a great art should fall into the hands of servile tradesmen.(p.470) Possevino's silence about poetry in this context is, one would suggest, in imitation of this tradition.

The importance of mathematics in art is closely bound up with the character of divine creation and the resemblance between God and the artist. He quotes Aristotle that all things are described first of all with lines, and then receive colours and softness and hardness as if nature took on the office of a painter in creation.(p.471) It is significant that the description of the first step of creation - "omnia delineamentis primum describuntur" - echoes the earlier definition of graphic art as designating "et descriptionem, et delineationem, sive linearum inductionem...".(p.470)

The passage throws an interesting light upon methods of poetic composition in the Renaissance. A poet might first draw a numerological and geometrical outline of his work and then fill in the outline with the colours and textures of language. Such a procedure is analogous not only to the procedure of the painter but also to that of God.

The technical side of painting is cursorily covered in a chapter 'Quinam pingendi praecepta tradiderunt Antiqui et Recentiores' which refers the reader to various authorities; for example, Scaliger on the treatment of light and colour.

In the subsequent chapter Possevino comes more into his own when he treats of the proper subject-matter of painting, the method to be employed, and the abuses to be avoided. Most of what he says is relevant also for religious poetry.

He divides painting into the fictive and the true or historical. The legitimate form of the fictive is that which is allegorical or verisimilar. The fabulous, which mixes natural and unnatural things, creating things which cannot exist in nature, is to be avoided. Clearly his preference is for historical painting which is bound by definite limits less strict than history proper, but stricter than those of poetry. Since painting is the book of the unlearned, it needs to approach the truth found in written histories, adapted to the capacity of the unlearned.(p.473)

He lays great emphasis on the need for historical realism, attacking for example, painters who show the two thieves on a different kind of cross from that of Christ. Helena, the mother of Constantine, he recalls, commissioned a study of the site of the crucifixion which showed that there was no distinction between the crosses. He attacks various absurdities and anachronisms in religious paintings; for example the portrayal of the Marys at the cross as young girls when they were mature women, or of Peter as a decrepit old man, and of John as a beardless boy. He stresses that it is particularly important that Christ's sufferings in his Passion should be treated with realism so that all may know the Saviour such as he was "without beauty or decorum" when Pilate presented him to the people saying "Ecce homo".(p.475)

To painters who say that such realism goes against the grain of their art, and is not aesthetically pleasing, he responds that truth is an overriding requirement; and that the various ages in the life of Jesus offer the artist a sufficiently varied subject-matter to exercise every aspect of his art.(p.475)

This chapter virtually concludes Possevino's treatment of painting proper, but before turning to discuss Emblems, Devices and so on, he thinks it proper to add two pieces written "many years previously" which may aid painters in the correct portrayal of Christ and the martyrs. The phrase "plures ante annos" is the same as he uses in respect of the treatise he claims to have written on behalf of Gambara which may indicate a date of composition in the 1570's.

The first of these pieces treats of the usefulness of religious meditation to the artist. Since an important critical theory has been based on the supposed influence of systematic religious meditation upon artistic practice, this chapter is of considerable importance. He begins by arguing why Christ and the Martyrs should be preferred subject-matter. Thus, he says, that it is generally acknowledged that in proportion that something is decent and useful, it is welcome to God and the state. Nothing could be more useful than the Passion of Christ and the fortitude of the martyrs, and therefore, of all possible subjects, these will bring the greatest utility. But before offspring is born it must be gestated; otherwise it will not be true offspring but an abortion. Since this is the case the painter ought to know that he needs to conceive in himself both with language and meditation, not so much the idea of the future work as the sense of the pains which the Lord Jesus and the Martyrs bore. It would be a great fault and miss the whole point of the Passion if a painter should concentrate only on accurate portrayal of musculature and such-like and miss the feeling of the wounds, sweats, struggles, torment, of Christ suffering. So that therefore the Passion should excite wonder and bitter sorrow in others, it is necessary that it should be felt in the soul of the painter. Therefore the painter needs to impress these things in the depths of his own soul by studying such works as the meditations of Ludovicus Granata and others, and by purging his soul in the sacraments before venturing on

such mysteries.(p.476-7)

The passage may be taken as an oblique corroboration of Martz's hypothesis of the relevance of religious meditation to poetic composition. It is a commonplace that a work needs to be gestated before it is born. What is striking in the passage is that meditation is identified as the most important preliminary to a religious work:

parturiendum esse partum, antequam is parietur: alioquin sit non partus, sed abortus: quae cum ita sint, intelligat pictor...in meditatione concipiendum esse non tam ideam futuri operis, quam sensum dolorum, quos Dominus Iesus, quique eum secuti sunt intrepide, olim perpetiebantur.(p.476)

[offspring must be gestated before they are born, otherwise they are not offspring but abortions. Since this is the case, the painter should realise that he needs to conceive in meditation, not so much the plan of the future work as the feeling of the sufferings which the Lord Jesus and his fearless followers suffered in times past.]

However, Possevino's quite explicit distinction between the 'idea' of a work and the feeling of Christ's sufferings tends to undercut literary theories that would look for meditative structure in poetic composition.

The second of these two pieces is a polemic against images of pagan gods and naked figures which he vigorously condemns on religious and moral grounds, citing both ancient and modern authorities. It is of little interest.

Finally Possevino turns to emblems and devices. Whereas the earlier parts of the 'De pictura' are only implicitly of reference to poetry, here the reference is explicit. It is fairly clear that, with qualifications, Possevino regards these genres as primarily literary.

Although painting and poetry admirably complement and interpret each other, it is the inscription that is the soul of the whole thing. He disagrees with those who would deny that emblems are the literary genre of epigrams or songs, in which images are explained and unfolded, though the name derives from the name for mosaic. And he

concedes that the inscription and the image or emblem proper differ as 'res' and 'verbum', and that emblems may exist without words.(p.479)

In his brief sketch of the history of the emblem he agrees with contemporaries in seeing it as arising among the Egyptians. Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics throw much light on the foundation of Emblems. Moses, learned in all the teachings of the Egyptians, veiled many things in symbolic form which supply many things to us which indicate the correct and sublime use to be made of emblems and other signs.(p.479)

Possevino plays down the classical source of emblems, although it is obviously the immediate source of the revival, through the Greek Anthology and knowledge of Roman and Byzantine mosaics. He disparages the emblems that classical writers devised from their mythology as being for the most part false.(p.479) He wishes to present them as a depraved version of the tradition handed down from the Egyptians to Moses, and to claim the whole tradition as part of the Christian patrimony.

Hence he emphasises the continuity of the Biblical Emblem through the Old Testament Fathers such as Moses, the early Christian Fathers who discerned the mystical sense of Biblical symbols, to modern writers such as Luis de Leon who treats the Bible as Emblematic in the modern style - creating visual images to unfold its metaphors - as in his translation of the Song of Songs.(p.479)

8.0

#### Conclusion.

It may be useful in conclusion to draw together some of the main points that emerge from a review of the treatise.

First of all the treatise is a not wholly coherent composite of diverse traditions; Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, as well as pagan and Christian. The basis is provided by Scaliger's Poetices, but this is



supplemented by elements drawn largely from the Greek tradition. Even the Bible is assimilated to this Greek tradition, or at least is assumed to share its origins in the Hermetic gold which the Israelites appropriated from the Egyptians. An important element of that golden tradition was the twofold art of the emblem; twofold because it covered both the art of mosaic or similar media, and the art of symbolic images. Added to these elements is an emphasis on realism of portrayal which may be in part attributed to Renaissance art-theory in its reaction against medieval absurdities, and in part to an Ignatian insistence on realism - on 'seeing the spot' - in meditation.

Looking at the Jesuit poetry of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth-century in the light of such literary theory, it is possible to see why it should have given rise to such diverse descriptions: one school of critics concentrating on its literary mannerism; another stressing its parallels with religious meditation, and its visual and psychological realism; while yet another group has emphasised its neo-classicism. Nevertheless, not in spite of but in harmony with this variety, the treatise does have a leading idea which emerges in Possevino's choice of epigrams, in his description of Gregory of Nazianzenus as a 'divine man', or in his praise of Pico's works

in quibus divinum illud ingenium suas opes effudit, ac  
ferme quaecunque theologi de iis differunt complexus  
est.(p.457)

[in which that divine wit poured out his riches and almost  
contained in unity all the different theological positions  
about these matters.]

Man is potentially divine, and it is the divine wit in man which is a key to achieving his full potential. To be witty is to approach God and man's works can never be too witty.

Such were the poetics - the theory and practice of literature - taught

by Possevino, one of the chief architects of the school system in which Southwell was educated. The question arises of the relevance of these poetics to Southwell's poetry. What light, if any, do they shed on his work?

The question may be divided into two parts. First, what is their relevance for the Latin poetry; and second, what is their relevance for the English poetry? One would expect them to be most directly relevant for the Latin poetry since the treatise is intended as a guide for composition in Latin, and to a much lesser extent in Greek; not for composition in the vernacular. However, it might be relevant for the English poetry insofar as Southwell's Latin poetry was the foundation of his English poetry. This is true of the detailed analysis of the Latin genres which forms the largest part of the treatise. Southwell's Latin poetry conforms closely to the pattern of genres treated by Possevino. The three genres in which he writes - small epic, elegy, and epigram - are the three genres to which Possevino gives special emphasis as most suitable for contemporary writers and apt for conversion to religious purposes. Moreover, his method of composition appears to correspond closely to that recommended by Possevino. Although he does not essay the cento, two of his Latin poems (the 'Poema de assumptione B.V.M.' and the 'Filii prodigi porcos pascentis ad patrem epistola') are virtually patchworks of pastiche of classical authors, adapting and imitating phrases, lines and whole passages.

Southwell's small epic has notable resemblances to that of Macarius Mutius, cited by Possevino as a model for Christian writers, chiefly the use of Christ's descent into hell as the main heroic action. This is true of Southwell's poem even though its ostensible subject is the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

His major elegiac poem, the 'Filii prodigi porcos pascentis ad patrem epistola' corresponds to Possevino's definition of elegy in

that it employs frequent apostrophe and exclamation to express suffering and remorse, and to deliver urgent pleas for relief.

Southwell's sole Latin epigram does not conform so closely to Possevino's description except in point of length. He gives five couplets as a maximum for epigram and Southwell's poem has four. The obtrusive punning and paronomasia of the poem do not (judging by the selection of poems offered by Possevino) accord with the latter's taste. Nevertheless its syntactical structure is in accordance with Possevino's description of language in the epigram as "quasi dimmensa, ut paria paribus respondeant..." (as if measured out, so that equal parts correspond to each other...).(p.446)

The generic system described by Possevino and observed in Southwell's Latin poetry is different from that found in the English poetry. Elegy has a close equivalent in the genre of 'complaint' - 'complaint' being English for quaerimonia, the chief subject-matter of elegy. However, the strict distinction between elegy and epigram is relaxed and the most popular English genre combines features of Latin elegy and epigram. Thus the ten line Latin epigram on the death of Margaret Howard printed in The Triumphs over Death is expanded in the accompanying English version to four six-line stanzas, and in terms of the Latin generic system would be described as a short elegy.(57)

The mixing of genres goes further than this. Large parts of 'Saint Peters Complaint' might be seen as a 'multiple' epigram expanded beyond the strict limits of the genre; or, since each individual stanza is within the allowable length of the epigram, we might regard parts of the poem as a sequence of epigrams. In addition, it is not too far-fetched to see the poem as possessing some characteristics of epic: in its length, its "pseudo-epic invocation to the muse", the scope of its subject (the redemption of man), and its obliquely treated central action (the descent of Christ into Hell).(58)

However, while the generic system expounded by Possevino does not hold for Southwell's English poetry - though it is part of its raw material - some of Possevino's more general observations and advice are highly relevant. Possevino's concept of the emblem as both image and intricate mosaic - a concept which he applies to poetry without any pictorial accompaniment in the case of the cento - aptly fits Southwell's style of poetic wit in which typological conceits are couched in an intricate, patterned syntax. Southwell might also be seen as following Possevino's advice to the artist to meditate the truth of historical episodes and to present them purged of mediaeval fictions and absurdities. In practice, this amounted to a focussing on the physical evidence of Christ's sufferings which are described with sympathetic sorrow and anguish by the artist or poet. This is the artistic or poetic equivalent of the Ignatian "seeing the spot" and is characteristically Jesuit. Far from being incompatible, these two aspects - of poetic wit and a painful realism - are successfully combined in some of Southwell's best poems, such as 'Christs Bloody Sweat' and 'Sinnes Heavie Loade'.

Though one can trace the roots of Southwell's English poetry in his Latin literary education and in his own Latin verse, roots which give his poetry its distinctive character (such that Janelle and Martz see Southwell as the forerunner of a new school of poetry), yet it has to be conceded that Southwell took as much from the English literary milieu as he brought to it from abroad, and that his English style was formed in imitation of what seemed to him the best English practice.(59) In subsequent chapters the continuity of the Latin and English poetry, and hence the debt of the English poetry to the Jesuit Latin poetics, will be examined in more detail.

## Chapter II

### The Neo-Latin Poetry

#### 1.0

##### Introduction.

A recent writer has described Neo-Latin literature as a lost Atlantis rising again from the sea.(1) It is implicit that such a re-appearance should profoundly alter our perception of the geography of Renaissance literature. In a small way this study participates in that scholarly revolution; restoring Southwell's Latin poetry to view, and tracing the new configuration that is revealed when his Latin poetry is given its due emphasis.(2)

In view of the historical importance that has been attributed to Southwell's English poetry, the intrinsic merit of his Latin poetry, and its relevance for his English work, it is surprising that this resurgence has hitherto passed him by. No mention is made of his Latin poetry in Leicester Bradner's history of English Neo-Latin verse, or its supplement.(3) Nor has it been taken up in more recent studies.

The Latin poems have not been entirely neglected, however. Pierre Janelle devotes half of a substantial chapter to them in what

is still, despite its considerable weaknesses, the best study of Southwell.(4) Janelle is a belated instance of the romantic critical consensus arising in the late eighteenth-century, and lasting into the twentieth, that deprecated artifice and wit in poetry and valued a supposedly natural and lyrical poetry of spontaneous, and, usually, pious sentiment. Janelle's central strategy is to argue that Southwell's early work reflected the "debased tastes of the age", but that as he developed he shook off "the leading strings of literary orthodoxy" and wrote in a more direct, plain, and naturally lyrical manner.(5) The whole thrust of Janelle's argument is summed up in the title of his sixth chapter; "From Concettism to Directness".

As a consequence of his bias Janelle depreciates the Latin poems as academic exercises - which doubtless they were - and as reflecting a debased taste which Southwell outgrew, which they do not. His bias leads him into error, as when he says that the 'Poema de Assumptione B.M.V.' is the "occasion for servile imitation of some of the latin poet's [ie. Virgil's] coldest and most conventional descriptions and allegories".(6) In fact, the poem is as indebted to Tasso as much as to Virgil. More generally, Janelle understates the extent to which the Latin poetry foreshadows and indeed is the foundation for the English work.

In fact one should not over-emphasize the extent to which Renaissance Latin imitated classical poetry. As Sparrow points out,

for most educated men in Renaissance Italy, latin was a natural means of expression; they had learned at school to use it for the purposes of everyday; they read it and wrote it as easily as they read and wrote their native tongue...(7)

This is a point upon which most scholars now agree. Bradner observes that many poets were "much more affected by contemporary literary fashions than classical works and were expressing their own feelings or interests in their latin verse", and that Neo-Latin verse is quite

"as interesting" in its relation to the vernacular literature of its time as <sup>in "its relation to"</sup> the classics".(8) Pierre Laurens observes that Neo-Latin and vernacular poets "drew their sap from the same streams"; while MacFarlane sees Neo-Latin as "a sort of John the Baptist to the vernacular".(9)

Indeed, if anything, it is a little surprising that there is not an even greater correspondence between Southwell's English and Latin poems. Latin and the vernacular were held to be corresponding media, so that, for example, the sonnet was seen as a form corresponding to the Latin or Greek epigram.(10) It was commonplace for poets to practise translation of their own or other poets' work either into Latin or Greek or into the vernacular. One may cite de Billy and Watson as near contemporaries of Southwell who produced bi-lingual versions of their work in the corresponding forms of Latin and the vernacular.(11) The Latin verse of another near-contemporary, Rémond, was used in this way by Crashaw as a basis for some of his English poetry.(12) Crashaw is of course yet another example of a bi-lingual poet. The correspondence of Latin and vernacular poetry is, therefore, a common pattern; and although the work of Southwell provides only one instance of a Latin and English version of the same poem - that is, the elegiac Latin epigram, and its English equivalent in four six-line stanzas, on the death of Margaret Howard - I would argue that the pattern of correspondence holds for his poetry, though in a less immediate form.(13)

The main reason for the distance and difference between the two sets of poems is that the Latin poetry and the English work correspond to two distinct phases of literary activity separated by a period of silence in which he dedicated himself to a religious life. What is noticeable in the transition from the Latin to the English poetry is a deepening and darkening of tone; a more serious and committed conception of the religious life, which might, at least in part, be

attributed to the years of Jesuit discipline. Despite this, however, there is a broad correspondence between the range of genre, style, subject-matter and mode of treatment in the Latin and English poetry. The elements of the Latin poetry are found in the English poetry, though not always in the same contexts and combinations. For this reason the Latin poems provide an invaluable frame for studying both the continuity and the transformation of Southwell's poetry as a whole.

2.0

#### General Description.

All the Latin poetry, with the exception of the poem already cited, is found in three groups each contained in a separate fascicle of a composite MS held at Stonyhurst College. Evidence suggests that the MS was transmitted to England some time after his death and that its contents belong to the period before his return to England.<sup>(14)</sup> This gives useful limits for dating the poems; for example, ruling out as impossible that certain of the poems refer to the death of Mary Queen of Scots as Grosart has suggested. On the basis of other evidence it may be possible to go beyond this and suggest a plausible conjectural chronology for the poems.

It seems probable that the group of poems described as a 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies' refers to the death of Margaret of France in 1574. A volume of commemorative verse was published in 1575, which may well have stimulated Southwell's attempt in the genre during his stay in France in 1576.<sup>(15)</sup> Partly on the basis of this date, and partly on the basis of the signs of immaturity, I assume that this contains the earliest of Southwell's extant poetry.

The more substantial of the two remaining groups contains two poems: an epyllion on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary ('Poema de Assumptione B.M.V.') and an Ovidian epistle from the Prodigal Son to



his father ('Filii prodigi porcos pascentis ad patrem epistola'). Both poems are accomplished literary performances. However I am inclined to the view that they are earlier than the poems of the third group - three elegiac poems begging for relief for his sufferings, and an epigram on his renewing of vows at Christmas. The final poem of this group is unique among Southwell's extant poems in being dated, May 1580. My conjectural ordering of these two groups is based upon a feeling that the third group, being devotional, are likely to be later than the second group, which are primarily literary and academic, although their subjects are religious.

An examination of the variations of handwriting and presentation of the poems in the manuscript tends to bear out this conjecture.(16) It is not the case, as Janelle states, that the handwriting of the manuscript is uniform, "an imperfect secretary hand, whether the text be Latin or English".(17) In fact, there are, as Macdonald notes, two distinct styles of handwriting in the manuscript: an English hand and an Italian hand.(18) 'The Fragment of a Series of Elegies' and the 'Poema de Assumptione B.M.V.' are in the English hand, the remainder of the Latin poems being in an Italian hand. There are other differences also. Generally, the poems in an Italian hand are more neatly and elegantly transcribed and employ minimal punctuation, while the poems in an English hand are heavily punctuated.

It is a reasonable assumption that Southwell would have adopted and perfected the Italian hand in the course of his continental education, most probably when he moved to Rome and entered the Jesuit novitiate in October 1578. The likely explanation for the change in the style of punctuation might be that the punctuated poems were written as school exercises. A teacher might require full and correct punctuation as he would also require grammatical accuracy. At a higher, more literary level the writer might dispense with punctuation in order to conform more closely to classical practice.

26

Et hanc populeo reddiderunt calce  
 Conclamant Colles velle perijisse Thauris.  
 Nec conclamato funder liber flos.  
 Fecales Adhuc volat mutata rugosus;  
 Nulla proemit laurum praefixa, laurus abi.  
 Quin formidatos armat Carthia nepotes,  
 Tam ferox cupit arma mordere nostri.  
 Cantaber et Dacus dumque sibi pferat Conatus;  
 Hinc omnes est illis quilibet alter Conos  
 Hinc fatis lugens flet Lusitanus, et inquit,  
 Quid morbo diuota est, si iocis ille fuit?  
 Bisfili clamant, fessis redire moros:  
 Omnis in hoc obitu fuisse annus obit.  
 Ecce iocis fufis g. res Castellana manipulis  
 Hoc humile vincto perdidit, alq. vinct.  
 Ex mirilo Latium nomen fortune latendi;  
 Quat' hura, Latij condita terra latet!  
 Quid, quod et Eoi pariter quib' altera mundi,  
 Sorsit de caelo lumina rapta suo?  
 Quid quod et Aegypti membris ingrantibus Condit!  
 A luctu reddo <sup>provenit</sup> ille plor.  
 Et diuunt ~~perijisse~~ flos! ment. naufragia omni:  
 Quo ferias? al. perijisse qui modo portus erat!  
 India tota quinit passis diffusa vagillis:  
 Ortus, in orafum Margarit omnis abi.  
 Et mihi. cur ~~lucrum~~ largyruas alio pto fols leperat?  
 Et de bono bellus nempis pterit a nova est.  
 Quid faciam? vidi leperat fluminis vides;  
 Et vidi largyruas strag terra lues.  
 Ergo animi in fletum, leperat nammoa fletu,  
 Ergo in maris ibat in magis durat est?

Poema de Assumpcion  
B. M. v.

Cum calum et tellus, et uasti machina mundi  
Tonderibus librata suis, basib infra, firmas  
Coacta est ~~per~~ et coeque oia rebus  
In proprijs digesta locis iam fixa manerunt.  
~~Ergo~~ dicitur vixit opus, primoq; pariter  
Cunctarū format veluti compendia rerum.  
Hos orbis patuit duob, atq; omnibus ornatus  
Delitijs, sacra paradiso in ~~per~~ locavit.  
Illic locus a primo mundi memorabilis ordo,  
Constitit arboribus, lomi quas fauces pefuso  
Museumq; interstiat moti, laborisq; ~~p~~  
Dulcoris ciet vnda <sup>m</sup>fauis, paribusq; vtentes  
flexibus, in rariosq; gramina findit arcus.  
Per ripas diffusa patet cu floribus porba  
Hic ~~vaga~~ <sup>m</sup>difusionē ~~intra~~ tramite pistis,  
Plurimus ~~dicitur~~ <sup>m</sup>generis, dum lapsus intat  
describit, et placide fallendo lumina multat.  
Per ripas diffusa patet cu floribus porba,  
Luscianusq; vixit vario istissima pastus,  
Linte fonte effudit curvo sine vomero tibus.  
Hic rosa cum violis, cu caligis lilia rotat,  
Hic rapia narcissus adest, Hiacintus acutusq;  
Hic crocus et nigellus resunt batrima cario.

2. First page of "Poema de Assumpcion B.M.V.", 4r, MS.A.V.4. The handwriting differs from that of Fig. 1, though both are described by McDonald as "in his English hand" (p.12).

Filij Prodigij porcos pascentis ad Patrem  
Epistola.

P. Rob. Southw.  
Martyris auro-  
graphum.

Si tam longinquis regites quis scripsit ab oris

Vel ferat vides vides sordida charta notas

Ippis suffusis quamvis maculosa lituris

Littera scriptoris nomea et omnia habet

Continet illa omnes plenos formidinis casus

Illa meum referet ter  
lamentabile fatum

Illa debet nati facta scabesta tui

Et licet nigro sordent elementa colore

Sic tamen hec domino celsiora suo

~~Siquis minus placidum lectum offendere possit~~

~~Sedibus illis meis & gremiis ador~~

Quippe quod emori letosis uersor in antris

Nihil mihi obscuro lumina nostra vident

Non mihi <sup>copia</sup> ~~fului~~ <sup>nummi</sup>

Prestitit quoddam inde quoque stat opom

Haud inopem fallax comitatur bulgus ut olim

Nec qualis fuerat id famulatus adest

Ornata desunt radiati muneris uestes

Nec phaloris celi subijciuntur equi

Thus, on the basis of the appearance of the poems (handwriting, punctuation, comparative neatness) we can tentatively divide the Latin poems into groups of earlier and later poems. In the first group would be the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies' and the 'Poema de Assumptione B.<sup>A.V.</sup>~~V.~~M.'. In the second group would be the 'Epistola...' and the sequence of poems beginning with 'Ad Deum in Afflictione: Elegia'.

A problem arises, however, when we compare the handwriting of the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies' and the 'Poema de Assumptione B.<sup>A.V.</sup>~~M.~~V.'. The poems are not in the same English hand. In fact there are consistent marked differences in the handwriting of each poem. We are faced with two possibilities. The first is that Southwell varied his English-style handwriting. In this case it may be that the 'Fragment...' represents an earlier phase of his handwriting, a possibility made more plausible by the untidiness of the transcription and the fact that it is preserved in a separate fascicle of the manuscript. The second possibility is that the poem is not in Southwell's hand, in which case it would be unlikely to be by him as it has the appearance of an authorial rough copy. I am unable to offer any really satisfactory solution to this problem and conclude that there is a possibility that the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies' has been included in this collection of Southwell's autograph manuscripts in error.

As with his English poetry the range of the Latin poetry is remarkably wide and varied. The majority of Southwell's poems in Latin or English are unique examples of a kind; and at a time when many poets would mass-produce examples of very similar poems, this is most unusual. The point is illustrated by a brief initial survey of the contents of the three groups.

Firstly, then, there is the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies'. This is an Epicedium for the death of Margaret of France extravagantly

conceited and hyperbolical, and illustrating that combination of Petrarchanism and Neoplatonism that is a widespread and characteristic feature of later sixteenth-century poetry. Secondly, there is the group comprising the epyllion on the Assumption of the Virgin, and the epistle of the Prodigal Son to his father. The third group is a closely integrated sequence of four poems. Two complaints - one to Christ, the other to St. Catherine - are followed by an epigram to the effect that spiritual life comes in response to prayer. The fourth poem presents the action of these poems - complaint or prayer followed by relief - from a detached point of view as a triumphal account of Pentecost.

Thus in a relatively small compass Southwell traverses the range of the most popular genres of the time from epic, through varieties of elegy or complaint, to epigram.

### 3.0

#### The Fragment of a Series of Elegies.

This fragmentary series consists of two fragments and one whole poem in the following order:

1. A fragment of 41 lines of which the opening lines are missing; presumably the remains of Elegia VII.
2. A whole poem of 62 lines, titled Elegia VIII.
3. A fragment of 27 lines, of which the closing lines are missing. It is titled Elegia IX and has a sub-title 'Umbra reginae nobiles viros docet, quid sit de rebus hisce fluxis sentiendum.' (The shade of the queen instructs her nobles how they should regard the unstable things of this world.)

It seems safe to assume that it is, indeed, a fragment of a series of elegies, and that all three poems - and, presumably those that are lost - refer to the same subject, the death of a Queen Margaret who is mourned universally, but especially by her loving husband, who is the presumed speaker of the first two parts. The identity of Margaret is a problem to which the previous commentators have given different

solutions. Grosart suggested Mary Queen of Scots, while Janelle suggested St.Margaret Queen of Scotland.(19) The most likely contender, however, is Margaret of France, wife of Philip Emmanuel Duke of Savoy, who died in 1574.(20)

If the length of Elegia VIII (sixty-two lines) may be taken as a rough guide, one might speculate that around twenty lines are missing from the beginning of Elegia VII. A clue to the contents of the missing lines is given in lines 28-29 where the poet asks:

Quid faciam? vidi lugentes fluminis undas;  
Et vidi lacrimas utraque terra, tuas.

[What should I do? I have seen a river's weeping waters,  
And I have seen your tears, O earth, on both sides.]

It seems likely that the poem began with a description of a river weeping for the dead Margaret, followed by a description of the tears of the two parts of the earth, the West and the East. The surviving part of the poem - although it contains references to rivers - would seem to commence at some point in the treatment of Western grief, since its first fifteen lines are a catalogue of various grieving Spanish tribes, followed by two lines on Italy. These lines correspond to the grief of the West. Why Spain should be allotted fifteen lines and Italy only two is a puzzle, but it is possible that lost parts of the poem referred to the grief of other Western peoples.

The poem is packed with puns, jokes, and hyperbolical conceits, and the meaning at times is so obscure that it should be quoted at length for the purpose of elucidation, as well as to illustrate the extravagant wit that remained a strand in Southwell's poetic character:

Ex luctu populus redditur ipse chalybs.  
Conclamant Celtæ celsos periisse Monarchas:  
Nec conclamato funere liber Iber.  
Ferales Nebrissa rotat mutata cupressos;  
Nulla premit laurum præfica, laurus abi.  
Quin formidatos armat Carteia nepotes,  
Tam saevae cupiens arma movere neci.

Cantaber et Vasco demptum sibi plorat honorem;  
 Nunc onus est illis quilibet alter honos  
 Hunc fati lusum flet Lusitanus et inquit,  
 Quae mors dicenda est, si jocus ille fuit?  
 Bissenii clamant, bissenii cedite menses:  
 Omnis in hoc obitu scilicet annus obit.  
 Ecce jacet fusa gens Castellana maniplis  
 Hoc tumultu vires perdidit, atque viros.  
 Ex merito Latium nomen sortire latendi;  
 Hac terra, Latii condita terra lates!  
 (11.1-17)

[By mourning the people are changed into the river Chalybs itself.  
 The Celts cry out that noble monarchs have perished,  
 Nor is the Ebro free from funereal clamour.  
 Altered Nebrissa rolls funereal cypresses;  
 No hired mourner presses the laurel, laurel be absent.  
 Nor does Cartagena arm her fierce offspring  
 Desiring to raise arms for cruel war.  
 The Cantabrian and the Basque lament the honour taken from them.  
 Now any other honour is a burden to them.  
 The Lusitanian laments this jest of fate and says  
 What must death be called if that was a jest?  
 The Biscayans shout 'twice six months give way,  
 The whole year passes away in her setting.  
 See where the exhausted bands of the Castilian people lie,  
 In this grave it has lost its strength and its men.  
 Deservedly Latium is given the name of burier,  
 In this earth, O established land of Latium, you are buried.]

Several kinds of verbal wit are in evidence here. The most striking  
 is the series of puns on names; for example, "chalybs", "Bissenii",  
 and "Latium". But these are of a piece with the other word plays:  
 the punning and paronomasia of "liber Iber", "lusum...Lusitanus", and  
 "vires...viros".

Having dealt with the grief of the Western peoples, the speaker  
 now turns to that of the East. This is more briefly dealt with:

Quid quod et Eoi pariter gens altera mundi,  
 Sensit de caelo lumina rapta suo?  
 Quid quod et Aethiopes membris nigrantibus horrent?  
 A luctu credo provenit ille color.  
 Heu dicunt, periisse Peru! mens naufraga currit:  
 Quo ferar? ah periit qui modo portus erat!  
 India tota gemit passis diffusa capillis:  
 Ortus in occasum Margaritis omnis abit.  
 (11.18-25)

[What about the fact that the East, like the other peoples of the world  
 Saw the light snatched from her own heaven.  
 What about the Ethiopians, shuddering, limbs turning black:  
 That colour I believe comes from grief.  
 Alas, they say, Peru has perished. The shipwrecked mind runs on,  
 Whither am I borne; my only refuge has perished.



All of wide India mourns with unbound hair.  
The risen firmament sets in Margaret's setting.]

(I confess I do not understand the reference to Peru, unless it is the case that geographical accuracy has been abandoned for the sake of the punning reference to a land of fabulous riches.) The sequence of the poem is explicit. The speaker describes himself as borne from land to land on a tide of grief. Why do I seek foreign tears, he asks, and answers that his grief is such that ever-new lands are needed to express it, thus justifying the previous listing of peoples and places. What is he to do now since he has exhausted the tears of rivers and the tears of the earth? The answer is to continue weeping, for to cease would mark him as harder and crueller than marble, land or sea. The conceit which had been applied to the East and West is now adapted to himself. His life is fled without which he cannot live. Therefore he will die.

The poem reveals a combination of epigrammatic and elegiac modes characteristic of the 'shorter' poems of the later sixteenth century. On the one hand the paronomasia, puns, paradoxes, and conceits of the first section are appropriate to the wittier genre of epigram rather than to the more serious elegy. In particular, the blackness of Ethiopians was a common topic for epigrams, in imitation of a famous poem in the Anthology.(21) The earlier part of the poem may be seen as an accumulation of parallel epigrammatic couplets - and we have seen that the multiple epigram lends itself to indefinite expansion. Once a poet has started, he need only stop when he exhausts his subject matter - as the poet confesses he has done in this case:

Ut doleam tellus nempe petenda nova est.  
Quid faciam?

[Truly for me to mourn a new world must be found.  
What should I do?]

These wordplays and conceits are the lights of language and thought

that ensure that an elegy is 'mannered and erudite'. But to this requirement is added that above all it should move the emotions and for this reason, as if by the law of its own nature it demands 'crowded apostrophes,...exclamations, repetitions'.(22) Such emotional exclamations gain the ascendancy over verbal wit in the second part of the poem:

Ah doleo! testes superi! mea Margaris eheu!  
Margaris heu! luctus haec quoque testis erit.  
(11.34-35)

[Ah, I grieve, the gods are witnesses, alas my Margaret,  
Margaret, alas, will also witness this grief.]

and in the closing couplet,

Deficio, subsido: dolor! dolor! expirabo!  
Jam satis est, luctus tu tege terra, meos.  
(11.40-41)

[I faint, I fail. Sorrow, sorrow. I will expire.  
Now is enough, earth cover my griefs.]

A notable feature of this fragment is its distribution of witty and affective elements within the poem; the first part being predominantly witty and the second part predominantly affective. We will see that this is a pattern which is followed in the two remaining poems of the sequence.

The 'eighth' elegy displays a comparable combination of verbal and intellectual wit, and affective elements. Perhaps because the whole of the poem has survived, it strikes the reader as a more successful work: extremes of logic and lamentation fit into a more intelligible pattern.

The whole poem takes the form of a gradatio or ladder-like progression from the lover's initial despair at the death of the beloved to his final ascension to heaven on wings of love. The lover is impelled to ascend the 'ladder' by the driving forces of love and grief, but it is also a process of dialectical dialogue with himself

that at times resembles a class-room question and answer session. As the poem develops, the contradictions and doubts in the speaker's mind are resolved, and he aspires to heaven where true love lives. The whole poem illustrates a spiritual process in which understanding modifies emotion, and emotion 'moves' the will.

In using the analogy of a stepped gradation one has introduced the notion of a series of linked units as in a stanzaic poem or a series of epigrams; and such, although the passages are closely articulated, appears to be the method of construction. Let us, then, identify the passages that make up the separate steps.

The poem may be divided into three sections or stages, the first of which consists of the first twenty-four lines and is a process of dialectic, an argument conducted through question and answer, by which the lover overcomes his initial despair on the death of his beloved and comes to a new understanding of the spiritual love that unites them.

Dic ubi nunc quod amo est! ubinam quod semper amavi?  
Hei mihi! vel quod amo, vel quod amabo perit?  
Non perit: illa praeit; sed amans sectatur amantem,  
Haud sequor, haud igitur me praeit; ergo perit.  
Non perit, at patrium vivis bibit aethera labris:  
(11.1-5)

[Say where is what I love, or where what I have always loved.  
Alas for me, both what I love and what I will love perishes.  
She does not perish, she goes before. But a lover follows his beloved,  
I do not follow, therefore she does not go before, therefore she perishes.  
She does not perish but drinks the patrial air with living lips.]

Having established that she lives, the lover is assailed by a new despair:

Me solum duplici morte perire jubet.  
(1.6)

[To me alone is ordained a double death.]

The double death is death and separation. The argumentative energy now goes into proving that the lovers are united in spite of death:

qui legem novit amoris,  
Unum non uno pectore pectus habet.  
An bene dinumeras? Ego, tu; duo nomina fingis:  
Ast unum duplici nomine numen inest.  
(11.13-16)

[he who has learnt love's law  
May have a single heart not in a single breast.  
Can you count? I, you; you shape two names,  
But a single soul informs the double name.]

The 'law of love', one would suggest refers to the same phenomenon as the Italian 'argomento d'amore', the blend of Petrarchanism and Ficinian Neoplatonism which was popularised in a large number of treatises on Love during the sixteenth century.(23)

The section ends with a rebuke to grief and an affirmation of the unity of the lovers in life or death:

Quid queror? haud moreris; duo sunt nam corpore in uno.  
Sic vivum nostro corpore corpus habes:  
Aut ego jam perii, duo sunt nam corpore in uno,  
Sic mea sunt tumulo membra sepulta tuo.  
(11.21-24)

[What do I lament? You are not dead, for the two exist in one body,  
Thus you have a living body in my body.  
Or I have now perished; since the two exist in one body,  
Therefore my limbs have been buried in your grave.]

This stoical acceptance falls short of Christian and Neoplatonic aspirations. The lover recognizes its inadequacy and goes on to recall the deathbed dialogue of himself and his lover:

Sed neque jam morior, neque tecum vivere possum:  
Hoc vivo, possum quod memor esse tui.  
Hoc est, quod moriens rerum pulcherrima dixi:  
Nomen tu memori pectore semper habe!  
Et licet hinc absim, sit praesens conjuge conjux:  
Defungor: functae tu quoque vive mihi.  
Dixi ego, ne dubita, memori vivemus amore,  
Quam tuus ipse tuus, tam mea semper eris.  
Jam mea semper eris licet hic mea diceris absens;  
Pectoribus statuam dicta suprema meis.  
Quamque mihi dictum, tam tu mihi semper adhaeres,  
Et dicti et vitae mors erit una meae.  
Non mihi votorum reddet lux ulla tuorum  
Taedia, quis non meminisse potest?  
(11.25-38)

[But neither do I die, nor do I live with you.  
What I can do in this life is remember yours.]

This, O most beautiful creature, is what you said dying:  
 Keep my name always in your remembering heart,  
 And though I be absent from you here, spouse shall be present to spouse.  
 I am dying, you be the life of my dead self.  
 I said: doubt not, we live in the memory of love,  
 As I am yours, truly yours, so you will always be mine.  
 Now you will always be mine, although here called my absent one,  
 In my heart these last words shall be engraved.  
 And as your words, so you will always be close to me,  
 And your words and my life will share a single death.  
 Never will your wishes be tedious to me.  
 Who could fail to remember such a great woman?

It is probably a matter of design that these fourteen lines, which are  
 the most eloquent lines of the poem, are also exactly central. The  
 beautiful central couplet

Dixi ego, ne dubita, memori vivemus amore,  
 Quam tuus ipse tuus, tam mea semper eris.  
 (11.31-32)

[I said: doubt not, we live in the memory of love,  
 As I am yours, truly yours, so you will always be mine.]

affirms that they will live in the memory of love each belonging to  
 the other. Human love shades into the divine love; the affirmation  
 being also, ironically, an affirmation of eternal life sustained by a  
 loving and remembering God.

In the third stage of the poem the lover's grief is revived by  
 the recollection of his beloved. He returns to the present where he  
 seeks - as if enchanted - the presence of his beloved. His mind and  
 eyes produce her image, witnessing to their love and also to their  
 grief in the laments and tears they produce. But now his grief is  
 such as to increase pious love: "Hic dolor est, hic est quem pius  
 auget amor."

Lamentor, queror, usque queror, gemo, lugeo, plango,  
 Languéo: languorem dicere vultis? amo.  
 (11.53-54)

[I lament, I complain, constantly complain, I mourn, I wail, I beat my <sup>breast,</sup>  
 I languish. Do you mean languish? I love.]

From this verbal stumble and the transformation of 'languéo' to 'amo',

the poet makes the transition to the conclusion.

Nunc molem sine mole feram, sine pondere pondus;  
Nunc labor, minima nunc ego mole gravor.  
Dicite quid sit amor! pondusne est, an mage penna?  
Penna mihi levis est, et grave pondus amor.  
Excutio pondus, rapidis me intersero pennis,  
Queis vaga sublimis sidera carpit amor.  
Ah amo! sed quid nam? vel ubi? mea sidera novi:  
Hic quod amo superest, huc volo, terra vale.  
(11.55-62)

[Now I bear a burden that is no burden, a weightless weight;  
Now I stumble, Now I am weighed down with a trifling burden.  
Say, what should love be. A weight, or rather a wing?  
A wing is light to me, and love a heavy weight.  
I put off the weight, I put on rapid wings,  
With which sublime love gains the wandering stars.  
Ah, I love. But what, or where? I have read my stars,  
Here what I love is above; hither I fly; earth farewell.]

Elegia VIII is a remarkable poem; it is even more remarkable when one considers that it was probably written while Southwell was still a schoolboy. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the poem is the way in which it is constructed in three sections - of dialectic, of memory, and of emotion - that combine in a single ascending movement from earthly to heavenly love. The explanation for such a method of construction, which prefigures aspects of Metaphysical and Meditative poetry, would seem to be twofold. In the first place Southwell was working to a specification of the Elegy as both witty and affective; and one suspects that this was formalized in academic teaching into a pattern in which intellectual analysis was succeeded by emotional exclamations and apostrophes. The secondary explanation lies in the philosophical conception of Love that underwrites Southwell's poems: hence, the dialectic which brings the lover to a proper philosophical understanding of Love, before his emotions can be, as it were, wings with which he ascends to heaven.

Only the first twenty-seven lines of the third poem of the fragmentary sequence have survived but it is possible to suggest on the basis of internal evidence how it might have developed, and to discern a similar structural pattern.

Like the earlier poems Elegia IX presents the transformation of a futile grief which might lead to self-destruction into an effectual grief that can guide the soul from earth to heaven. The transformation is the result of a Platonic and Christian education in which the soul comes to an understanding of the 'pius amor' and 'sublimis amor' which dwells in the realms above. The transformation and education which we had seen taking place in the soul of the woman's lover is now formulated in a moral teaching and presented to the wider audience of her court.

She rebukes their grief because it is unnecessary on her behalf. Rather than weeping for her, she says, they should weep for their own souls:

Plange; sed o quid nam? Stulti ludibria mundi,  
Pars magna est animi forsitan ille tui.

[Lament, but what? The farce of this stupid world!  
The greater cause, perhaps, is the state of your own soul.]

She then gives ten lines of moral teaching which are notable for their use of paronomasia, puns, internal rhymes, repetition, symmetry, and parallelism:

Quid pretii pretium? quid habet decus omne decoris?  
Non sunt haec animo digna potenti coli.  
Cernis opes? pictae sunt fulva umbracula massae,  
Est raptrix animi copia; cernis opes.  
Divitiis vitiis inhias? reus aureus ipse es:  
Fies inter opes non nisi semper inops.  
Vanus honor; tumidi sunt oblectamina sensus,  
Marcida gloriolae pabula; vanus honor.  
Res nulla est, bulla est, res futilis, utilis illis  
Queis inhonorus honor non honor est sed onus.  
Vana Venus; caecae sunt irritamina culpae,  
Dementis mentis toxica; vana Venus.  
Fallacem faciem cerussat amaror amoris,  
Dum mala proponit mala venusta Venus.  
Este procul tellus et inania munera terrae;  
Munera non ullo respicienda die.  
(11.9-24)

[What price prizes? What worth does all glory have?  
They are not worth the attention of a powerful mind.  
Do you know wealth? Gilded vaults are painted stones,  
Wealth is the thief of the soul. You know wealth.  
Do your jaws gape for vile riches? You are a prisoner of gold.]

You will not come into riches unless you are always poor.  
Honour is vanity: they are the delights of puffed up sense,  
The stale gruel of petty glory. Honour is vanity.  
It is a nothing, a bubble, a futility useful to those  
To whom dishonoured honour is not honour but a burden.  
Venus is vanity: they are incitements to dark crimes,  
Poisons of a demented mind: Venus is vanity.  
Bitter love whitens her deceiving face,  
As charming Venus proffers her evil apples.  
Away world, and empty wealth of the earth,  
wealth never deserving of regard.]

What might have followed may be surmised. She has told them to weep for the right reason, that is to shed tears of remorse for their own sins. It is likely that the final line of the fragment in which she melts from their grasp like water melting into water marks a transition to the subject of tears. One imagines that the courtiers would have been portrayed melting into tears and expressing a grief which strengthens their resolve to amend their lives and aim for the rewards of heaven. Such a development would correspond to the pattern of the two earlier poems in which a display of wit is succeeded by emotional passages in which the grief and love of the speaker has been transformed into desire for heaven.

4.0

#### The second group of Latin poems.

The 'Poema de assumptione B.M.V.' is the most ambitious and interesting of the Latin poems. Janelle misdescribes it as an "epic fragment", whereas it is a complete poem conforming to Renaissance rather than to Classical conventions.(24) The short epic or epyllion was a popular genre, and as we have seen, Possevino proposed Macarius Mutius' De triumpho Christi, a poem of 317 lines, as model for Christian epic. Though the text is liberally sprinkled with phrases borrowed from Ovid and Virgil, Janelle is wrong to say that Southwell is servilely imitating "some of the Latin poet's coldest and most conventional descriptions and allegories".(25) The language may be



classical but the underlying models for imitation are contemporary. The central episode of the poem, a debate in Hell is indebted to Tasso's treatment of the same subject.(26)

He begins by briefly sketching the Creation as a prelude to God's last work:

Cum caelum et tellus et vasti machina mundi  
Ponderibus librata suis, basis inscia, firmas  
Sortita est sedes, et legibus omnia certis  
In propriis digesta locis jam fixa manerent:  
Extremum Deus urget opus, primosque parentes  
Cunctarum format veluti compendia rerum.  
(11.1-6)

[When the heavens and the earth and the frame of the huge world  
Balanced by its own masses on an uncertain foundation,  
Had been allotted a firm basis, and all things  
By immutable laws stood fixed in their rightful places,  
God pressed on with his final work, and formed our first parents  
As a microcosm of all things.]

The grammatical subordination of cosmos to man, not only facilitates a swift and effective entry into the subject, but also corresponds to the subordination of cosmos to man in the hierarchy of creation. This is made explicit in the next lines:

Hos orbis statuit dominos, atque omnibus ornans  
Deliciis, sacra paradisi in sede locavit.  
(11.7-8)

[He established them lords of the earth, and adorning [it/them]  
With all that is delightful, placed them in the holy home of Eden.]

The phrase "omnibus ornans/ Deliciis" ambiguously refers either to the first parents or to Paradise; appropriately, since both are summations of the beauties of the world, and Paradise is an outward appearance of the beauty and harmony of the couple. As such it is a type of the Christian Paradise and of Christ and Mary. It is this second or Christian creation which is in fact the "extremum...opus" of God as it is the true subject of the poem. Southwell follows the pattern of the great 'opifex' in laying the foundation of his 'opus' in the Creation.

*as Tarelle points out,*

There follows a description of Paradise which<sup>^</sup> draws on classical descriptions of the Golden Age. In particular the description echoes Virgil's Fourth Eclogue which contains the famous prophecy of the return of Astraea and the birth of a child who shall restore the Golden Age:

iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;  
iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.  
(11.6-7)

[And now a Virgin returns, Saturnian reign resumes,  
Now a new race is sent down from the high heaven.]

Southwell of course would have accepted the Fourth Eclogue as an inspired prophecy of the Virgin and Christ. The conclusion of the description of Paradise -

Quicquid in immenso pulchri diffunditur orbe,  
Et sparsum solumque alias aliasque per oras  
Cernitur, hoc uno totum concluditur horto.  
(11.25-27)

[Whatever of beauty is spread through the immense world,  
Separated and solitary through many and various regions,  
Here in a sum is contained in a single garden.]

- develops the Platonic notion of a "cunctarum...compendia rerum" and is closely echoed in later writings of Southwell in connection with Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Eucharist. If the subsequent description of Mary is sketchy, an explanation is that she is described here under cover of a type.

The poet now turns from the descriptive present tense to the historic perfect and rapidly narrates the Fall, the arraignment of mankind in the court of Death and the apparent invulnerability of triumphant Death, until a virgin sets herself against Death's fury and overthrows its cruel laws. The Virgin is significantly described as "suae...vindex parentis", avenger of her parent Eve. She restores what Eve has lost and has a redemptive role in respect of women parallel to that of Christ for mankind in general. Mary is described

very briefly in terms which echo the descriptions of Adam and Eve and the garden as microcosmic compounds. Because she is a perfect compound, balanced and whole, the Virgin is immune to disease.

Now succeeds the main action of the poem, the Council in Hell, which like most such episodes in Renaissance literature is deeply indebted to Tasso.(27) There is no indication that Southwell has read Vida's Christiad, Tasso's own chief model after the classics, but he does draw on the classical sources for the description of hell and its inhabitants in Virgil, Statius and others. Death, fearing the ruin of his empire, decides to summon a council. There follows an ecphrastic description of Hell introduced by the formulaic "Est..." which is in stark contrast to the earlier description of Paradise. Though many descriptive details are taken from Virgil, the effect is far from "servile imitation...of the Latin poet's coldest and most conventional descriptions...". It is highly-coloured, melodramatic and allegorical in the manner of Spenser; an appropriate setting for Death who sits in the midst on a corroded, slimy and pus-smeared throne:

In medio solium nulla spectabile pompa,  
Informi obductum limo, sanieque perunctum  
Eminet, exesis diuturna aerugine fulcris.  
(ll.68-70)

[In the midst rises a royal throne  
Striking for its lack of show, covered with formless slime,  
Smeared with bloody issues, its legs eaten by ancient verdigris.]

Death gives the order and the summons resounds through Hell calling together his ministers, who are listed according to the classical formula - imitated by Renaissance writers of epic - for such occasions.

Then comes Death's speech - a Renaissance set piece subtly parodying the glories of classical oratory and the virtus of the classical hero going bravely to defeat amidst evocations of past glory. Southwell rises to the occasion with ringing oratory:

Atra cohors nostris semper fidissima sceptris,  
Olim quanta fuit Lethei gloria regni...  
(11.91-92)

[Black troops, ever faithful to our sceptre,  
How great once was the glory of the Lethean power...]

and so on for a further eleven lines recalling past triumphs. But Death lapses from this bellicose strain into comic bathos when he refers to the enemy:

Est mulier, mulier nostris contraria fati...  
(1.104)

[It is a woman, a woman opposed to our destiny...]

It is a woman who threatens his power. Not a mere woman however:

Illius haec genetrix Christi, qui immanibus ausis  
Tartareos subiit fines, et victor opimis  
Ditatus spoliis, superas evasit ad auras,  
Et raptam aethereis praedam celer intulit astris.  
Quam timeo, nostrae ne forte injurius aulae  
Antiquas violet leges, matremque (quod absit)  
Viribus eripiat nostris, animosque ministret,  
Ut praedas actura istis sine sole cavernis  
Succedat, manesque suis exturbet ab antris.(28)  
(11.106-114)

[This is the mother of that Christ, who with terrible daring  
Descended within the bounds of Tartarus, and victorious  
Ascended laden with rich spoils to the regions above,  
And swiftly drove the siezed flocks to the aetherial stars.  
She<sup>I</sup> fear, lest perchance, harmful, he should violate  
The ancient laws of our court, and (perish the thought)  
Snatch his mother from our power and strengthen her spirit  
So that she succeed in driving flocks from our sunless caverns  
And expell the shades from their own caves.]

Southwell's interweaving of the comic and serious aspects of his subject here is a masterstroke of ironic juxtaposition. As Death's impersonation of a hero lapses into comic bathos, Christ and Mary emerge - in Death's own words - as the true patterns of heroism.

This account of the Harrowing of Hell is almost formulaic. Macarius Mutius, a pioneer of the Christian epic in the Renaissance, had described a descent into hell (a Catabasis) as virtually a requirement of epic. Listing classical heroes who had made the

descent, he notes that they brought nothing back of benefit to mankind. Christ, on the other hand, had returned with the Old Testament Fathers:

Haec sunt opima triumphantis ducis spolia, haec plena est  
victoriae... (Poss. p.467)

[These are the rich spoils of a triumphant leader, this is  
complete victory...]

Southwell applies to Christ the same triumphal language as Mutius. His poem also adapts the spatial conventions of the Royal Triumph in placing his hero and heroine in the centre, for these are the central lines of the poem. Triumphal language and such spatial composition are, of course, developed from Classical sources.(29) One might cite as an example Virgil's First Eclogue, in the central line of which -

hic illum vidi iuvenem...[1.42]

[Here I saw that youth...]

he points to the young Octavian whose deification he flatteringly anticipates. As in the example, Southwell's use of the demonstrative adjective in "Illius...Christi", is the supreme accolade marking a unique greatness for which honorific titles are redundant. A modern example, arising from the same tradition, would be the "Il" of "Il Duce".

In making Mary the sharer in Christ's epic glory Southwell's treatment is in line with Catholic tradition, and cannot be said to detract in any way from the dignity and femininity of the Virgin. The situation does however give rise to comic possibilities that he is not slow to exploit. The devils are defeated by a woman who does not eventually do, or even threaten, what they fear. The situation is neatly illustrated in Death's question:

Proh sola revellet  
Jura per innumeros annorum fixa recursus  
Femina?

(11.121-123)

[Ah, should a single woman overthrow  
Laws fixed for innumerable cycles of years?]

where the hyperbaton of "sola" and the metrically enhanced "femina" wittily encapsulates and mimes the overthrow of the power of hell by a single woman. Death, foaming at the mouth and speechless with helpless rage, becomes a defeated figure of farce.

In the debate that follows the same pattern is repeated: bellicosity fizzles out in helplessness. Death's companions rage for war till Old Age, who claims to be equally eager, points out the futility of the enterprise. Instead of having recourse to war, Old Age advises that Death should plead their case in the court of God. Spirits dampened, the inhabitants of hell vote for this motion.

The trial that follows corresponds in reverse to the earlier trial in which mankind had been condemned to death. After hearing the arguments on both sides, God's verdict is that the Virgin should be translated to heaven from a healthy body by love rather than by death, and that her passing should be supremely delightful. When Death requests that the body at least be subject to dissolution, the angels give a roar of protest and God denies the petition. Then, as the Virgin mounts to the stars, heaven rings with songs of triumph, while Death is put to ignominious flight - reversing his earlier success when he had "triumphed undefeated".

Now Janelle's main charges against the poem do not stand up. The indebtedness to Tasso and the Neo-Latin Christian epyllion pioneered by Mutius places the poem squarely in the context of Renaissance, rather than Classical, generic conventions. The playful freedom with which Southwell adapts Ovid's "gigantes" to refer to early Christian champions of Mary shows how far he is from servile and frigid imitation. In founding his action in the first creation and making

Mary a heroine who defeats the devil, his treatment is in accordance with Catholic typology and biblical exegesis. The comic aspect of the poem is an implication of the subject; for though Mary defeats the devil, she does so without a contest, being (according to Catholic teaching) supernaturally protected from diabolic contact. This does not make the poem preposterous, but rather (as in good Renaissance polemic) it makes the opponent ridiculous.

Bradner has shown how readily Tasso's diabolical machinery was applied to treatments of political and religious issues and events, for example Gunpowder Plot, and such applications frequently took the form of serio-comic epyllion.(30) The status of Mary was of course a controverted issue, and while Southwell does not explicitly connect Death with the Protestant cause, he does, humorously identify his companions as enemies of Death and Hell. The almost rowdy behaviour of the angels recalls - no doubt deliberately - the behaviour of assemblies of students, for whom, as a prolusion mingling serious piety with light relief, the poem would have been intended.

## 5.0

The best of the Latin poems is the 'Filii prodigi porcos pascentis ad patrem epistola' - 'The Prodigal Son's letter to his father when he was herding swine'. Henceforth I shall abbreviate this rather clumsy title to the 'Epistola'. The elegiac 'Epistola' is modelled, <sup>as Janella notes,</sup> on Ovid's Tristia and Ex Ponto, of which it contains a number of echoes.

The poem begins by establishing that it is a letter:

Si tam longinquis rogites quis scripsit ab oris  
 Vel ferat unde rudes sordida charta notas  
 Inspice suffusis quamvis maculosa lituris  
 Littera scriptoris nomen et omen habet  
 (11.1-4)

[If you should ask who has written from such distant regions,  
 Or whence the soiled paper bears this ill-formed writing,  
 Look closely, the foul writing, however covered with corrections,  
 Tells the name and nature of the writer.]

This appears to echo certain lines of the Tristia:

inspice, quid portem: nihil hic nisi triste videbis,  
carmine temporibus conveniente suis...  
littera suffusas quod habet maculosa lituras,  
laesit opus lacrimis ipse poeta suum.  
(III, i, 9-10, 15-16)

[Examine what I bring: you will see nothing here but sadness,  
Verse befitting its own condition...  
If the letters are spotted and blurred with erasures,  
It is because the poet with tears injured his own work.]

(Ovid's phrase "nihil...videbis" is adapted in line ten of Southwell's poem: "Nilque nisi obscenum lumina nostra vident".) The poem goes on to summarize its contents as the disasters that have befallen the son and the sins he has committed, which have brought him to his present situation of dwelling in a muddy cave surrounded by disgusting sights.

Then follows (11-30) an Ovidian and Renaissance set-piece lamenting the revolution of Fortune and the fickleness of friends modelled on the famous passage beginning "donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos;/ tempora si fuerint nubis, solus eris" (Tristia, I, ix, 5-6):

Haud inopem fallax comitatur vulgus ut olim  
Nec qualis fuerat jam famulatus adest  
Ornatae desunt radianti murice vestes  
Nec phaleris tecti subjiciuntur equi  
Omnia nimbo fluxere simillima vento  
Nec facies rebus quae fuit ante manet  
Hei volvit fortuna rotam ventisque solutis  
Disrupit nostram pernicioosa ratem  
Aurea deperiit nunc ferrea prodiit aetas  
Sunt laeta in tristes tempora versa dies  
(11.13-22)

[The fickle crowd does not, as formerly, befriend the wealthless man,  
Nor does the family servant, such as he was, attend;  
Gone are the embroidered clothes of shining purple,  
Nor are there horses covered in trappings to ride;  
All has been swept away as if by a winter wind  
Nor does the former image of things remain.  
Alas, Fortune turns her wheel, and bearing calamity  
With unleashed wind has dashed our vessel to pieces.  
The golden has perished, now the age of iron begins;  
Joyful days have turned into days of sorrow.]

The passage is pleonastic in the manner favoured by Ovid and the



Renaissance, illustrating a point with copious exempla and elegant variation of expression as in the following couplets:

Aurea deperiit nunc ferrea prodiit aetas  
Sunt laeta in tristes tempora versa dies  
(11.21-22)

[The golden has perished, now the age of iron begins;  
Joyful days have turned into days of sorrow.]

Jam placidae periere dies tristesque secutae  
Ultima laetitiae prima doloris erat  
(11.29-30)

[Now days have perished, and sad days have followed;  
The last of joy was the first of sorrow.]

Southwell skillfully imitates the plaintive melodiousness, and verbal wit of Ovid.

The prodigal son goes on to admit that his hard lot was deserved by his sins and that it is less than his deserts. Then he confesses his sins (33-50). He came to this foreign land wholly intent on destruction. With a group of young companions he wasted his time in debauchery and, hardened by a thousand crimes, placed his salvation in lust rather than the care of God, so that he did not have his equal beneath the Stygian waters.

Then comes both real and metaphorical shipwreck, and the Prodigal Son an exile and a pauper is overwhelmed by invulnerable evils which are the reward and penalty of his sinful life (55-75). His clothes are rags, showers scourge his skin, joyful music has been succeeded by the grunting of pigs, who are now his choice companions. Hunger draws new figures on his face. His skin scarcely covers his fleshless bones. He is fevered and racked by pain but no medicine is given to him. The sinner has come to the recognition of his disease, the remedy for which is to turn to God.

Squalida languentes febris depascitur artus  
Imaque pervasit tabidus ossa dolor  
Nec mihi curandis dantur medicamina morbis  
Tu nisi succurras non feret alter opem  
(11.73-76)

[Filthy fever battens on <sup>my</sup>the weakening limbs,  
 And consuming pain racks <sup>the</sup>inmost marrows,  
 Nor are medicines given me for the cure of my diseases,  
 Unless uou hasten to bring help, no other will bring aid.]

These are the central four lines of the poem, and I would argue that there is a transition (from the topic of disease to that of its cure) between the second and third line which divides the poem into two equal halves of seventy-four lines each. (Grosart's edition is positively misleading at this point since he inserts a full-stop after 'morbis', masking the structural division of the poem into two equal halves. Not only does the manuscript give no basis for this, but it would also be most <sup>unusual</sup> for a couplet to be divided in this way. In this case, although 'nec' indicates a syntactical continuity with the preceding line, the line is also continuous in sense with the second line of the couplet.)

Thus "Nec mihi curandis..." introduces the second half of the poem, in which recognizing that the land of his exile (the 'world') contains no cure for his disease, the Prodigal Son throws himself on tthe mercy of his father. The second half of the poem consists of repeated petitions to his father for help. His conversion is marked by fruits of grace, hope and love. As befits a Catholic poem - in contrast to a Protestant handling of such a subject - he has no assurance of salvation, and although his sin is forgiven he continues to pay the penalty of remorse. Salvation is deferred beyond the end of the poem, and this second half of the poem might be seen as corresponding to a period of purgation.

The series of pleas to his father are backed up by argument. Thus, he begins by arguing that despite his crime, he is still his father's son (77-90). He acknowledges responsibility for his crime but claims to have paid the penalty in a thousand cares of the mind and ills of the body, and that disaster threatens him unless his father swiftly supplies life-giving help.

The next passage varies the petition. Instead of pleading for relief of suffering, he pleads for forgiveness of his sin, and instead of appealing in a legalistic fashion to parental duty, appeals instead to paternal love.

O pater O nati spes summa et sola salutis  
Sis pater et nati sit tibi cura tui  
En scelus agnoscit lacrimis commissa fatetur  
Parcere peccanti munus amoris erit  
Peccavi fateor sceleris mens conscia luget  
Erroresque luunt singula membra suos  
Scilicet et veniam sceleris mens conscia poscit  
Nec nisi peccanti parcere posset amor  
(11.91-98)

[O father, greatest and sole hope of salvation,  
Be a father and take your son into your care.  
See he recognizes his crimes and confesses his deeds with tears.  
The task of love is to forgive the sinner.  
I have sinned, I confess, and my mind laments conscious of crime,  
My members pay for their several sins.  
Truly the mind entreats for forgiveness.  
Who can love forgive but the sinner?]

The next two lines (99-100) might be seen as concluding these two pleas - one to paternal piety or duty, the other to paternal love. He urges his father not to be a judge, while claiming that a judge would not have punished him so severely.

The third petition requests, beyond material help and forgiveness, permission to return to the paternal home. Its motive is love and it appeals to the divine and paternal love. He begins by lamenting that he ever left the beloved home. It seemed right to the powers above to allot him such a fortune which, though a hard penalty, had to be borne. But now - here he addresses God - he has suffered, and begs permission to be allowed under God's guidance to continue his journey to his homeland, which if he should see again he would not leave till Judgement Day, even for a royal sceptre. The beggar Iris, he says, is happier at home than Croesus amidst his wealth.

The Prodigal's progress in the fruits of grace continues in the fourth petition which expresses love for the father and desire to prevent his suffering:

O si forte brevi tales tibi littera casus  
 Adferat et nati talia fata tui  
 Quae sibi mens quis sensus erit cum te orta parente  
 Audieris rabidas membra vorasse feras  
 (11.129-132)

. . .  
 Tunc dolor invadet quem non invaserat olim  
 Quique sepultus erat vulnere surget amor  
 Ille quidem surget sed nostros serus in usus  
 Cum nulla optatae spes opis esse potest  
 (11.141-144)

[O if perchance shortly a letter should bring you news  
 Of such accidents and disasters befalling your son,  
 What will you think, what will you feel when you hear  
 Limbs you are the parent of were devoured by wild beasts.

. . .  
 Then sorrow may enter where it had not formerly entered,  
 And he who had been buried, love shall raise to wound.  
 He will rise indeed but too late for our enjoyment,  
 Since there can be no hope of the desired relief.]

There is a double irony in the conclusion. The first is that, as the reader knows, the father will respond positively. This knowledge is denied to the son because for Catholics a conviction or certainty of salvation - as opposed to a lively hope - was presumption and sinful. The second is that he writes before the death and resurrection of Christ, which he half anticipates:

Quique sepultus erat vulnere surget amor  
 Ille quidem surget sed nostros serus in usus  
 Cum nulla optatae spes opis esse potest  
 (11.142-144)

'Wound' in the Christian context has positive connotations. Thus Peter in 'Saint Peters complaint' says of Christ: "You did vouchsafe to warme, to wound, to feast/ My cold, my stony, my now famished breast".

The poem is sophisticated and calculated. It has at least three levels of reference - contemporary, historical, and parabolic. The poem was written by an exile for exiles and reflects their circumstances, referring humorously to the mischievous behaviour, ragged condition, and porcine table-manners of his fellow-students. Secondly, the poem re-tells a history vouched for by the authority of

God. Thirdly, as a parable it can be read as treating of the Fall and Reconciliation of man, and of death and resurrection, death being part of the penalty of sin and resurrection the completion of the process of reconciliation.

In its choice and treatment of its subject matter the poem establishes a pattern for a number of the English poems: and, in particular, it substantially prefigures Southwell's English masterpiece, the long version of 'Saint Peters Complaint'. I do not want to anticipate the course of my argument by going into these resemblances at this point. However, much of Nancy Brown's account of the structure of 'Saint Peters Complaint' is applicable to the 'Epistola' and relevant here.(31)

Brown argues that the structural base of 'Saint Peters Complaint' is the Tridentine doctrine of the sacrament of penance. Peter speaks

as if he were in the presence of a priest at the tribunal of penance; in this imaginative development all those elements contained within the sacrament of the Church are set out in order: contrition, confession, the desire to make satisfaction, and the reception of absolution.(32)

Peter's contrition is fully realized when he realizes his diseased state:

For the first time in the poem we are made aware of the possibility of a way out, of a means of redemption.(33)

Two analogies used at Trent for the means of redemption are highly relevant for both poems. They are the description of penance as "a second plank after shipwreck", and as a "medicine for sin".(34) Like Peter the Prodigal Son seeks reconciliation with God without a priest to act as mediator. The Council of Trent gave formal recognition to a contrition that was "perfect through charity" and effected reconciliation without the need of priestly absolution.(35) Hence the emphasis on love as the final and most powerful motive for the Prodigal's desire for reconciliation.

Nancy Brown also argues that Southwell "appears to have followed the stages of the formal meditation 'On our Sins', the second exercise for the first week of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola". In at least one respect this is more true of the 'Epistola' than of 'Saint Peters Complaint':

Peter's vehement self-disgust in the first lines of the poem may be compared with the Jesuits' 'composition of place', in this case "to see with the eyes of the imagination and to consider that my soul is imprisoned in this corruptible body, and my whole self in this vale of misery, as it were in exile among brute beasts." (36)

The Prodigal, of course, is literally an exile among brute beasts.

In terms of the Jesuit system of meditation, the structure of the poem might be described as consisting of a meditation on his sins, involving memory and understanding in which the prodigal son realizes that he is desperately diseased. This recalls the second exercise of the First Week of the Exercises:

...to consider all my corruption and bodily foulness...to behold myself as an ulcer and abscess whence have issued so many sins and iniquities, and such vile poison. (37)

The second half of the poem consists of a series of colloquies to his father and to God, involving the will (to amend his life), and the affections (love for his father and God). The style of this section fits Ignatius' description of colloquy:

The colloquy is made, properly speaking, as a friend speaks to a friend, or a servant to his master, asking at one time for some grace, at another accusing oneself of some evil committed, at another making known one's affairs, and seeking council concerning them. (38)

It is perhaps a little surprising to find the influence of the Spiritual Exercises in what is probably a schoolboy poem, albeit Southwell had already been given the Exercises and had set his heart on becoming a Jesuit. I would speculate that, as with Possevino, widely diffused Neoplatonism provided a fertile ground for a vocation

as a Jesuit. Neoplatonism emphasised the ability of the mind to return to its original divine nature by meditation. Such an ascension is the subject of 'Elegia VIII'. In addition Southwell never seems convinced that sin is the cause of the primal misfortune of exile from the Father and the patril home. Sin, indeed, follows the exile, but the exile itself is seen as a misfortune visited upon man by fate, perhaps to test his worth. Southwell comes close to the Neoplatonic doctrine that birth into the world is the fall from union with God, and that the purpose of life in the world is to return to spiritual unity with God. Part of the appeal of Jesuit discipline, I would conjecture, would be as a gnosis whereby the aspirations of Neoplatonic philosophy could be fulfilled in an orthodox Christian context. Such a conjecture would explain Bruno's jibe in which he implied that the Jesuits shared the philosophy of Pico della Mirandola.(39)

## 6.0

The final group of poems printed by Grosart are found in a separate fascicle of the Stonyhurst MS and are distinct from the other poems both in forming a self-contained sequence in their own right, and in representing a more devotional or 'divine' tendency than the other poems. Though it would be absurd to call the other poems profane or secular, nevertheless they are public poems emulating classical and contemporary literary models. These poems, however, indebted to elegiac and epigrammatic conventions though they are, are chiefly personal and devotional. The speaker of the complaints is not a persona as in the earlier elegies but the poet himself.

The first poem, addressed to Christ, expresses his contrary or disastrous lot 'versa sors'. He burns with love for Christ, to die for whom would be life. But the life he desires is afar off and he lives an unwelcome death-in-life. As he pursues Life, it recedes, and

life-in-death attempts to possess him: a double grief.

The second poem repeats this complaint to St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr, with a petition for relief. He asks her to bring him the same medicine as Christ had given her.

The third poem is the only true epigram among the poems. It is notable for its play on the double sense of life (that is in earthly and spiritual senses), and for the paronomasia of 'vota' and 'vita'.

'In renovationem votorum, Festis Natalis Domini'

Vita venit vitae cum votis obuius ito  
Et veniet votis obvia vita tuis  
Vita quod est tibi dat tu vitae redde teipsum  
Et tibi per vitam vita perennis erit  
At quinam poteris melius te reddere vitae  
Quam si qui vita est des tua vota Deo  
Des igitur tua vota Deo dabit ipse seipsum  
Et reddet votis praemia vita tuis.

[Life comes, go meet life with vows,  
And life will come to meet you for your vows.  
Life is what it gives you, give yourself therefore back to life,  
And enduring life will be yours in life.  
And how can you better give yourself to life  
Than if you give yourself to God who is life?  
Give therefore your vows to God, he gives back himself,  
And Life will give rewards in return for your vows.]

In the context of the sequence the epigram represents the turning point, the coming of life - of relief of suffering - in response to petitions and vows. The final poem ('In Festum Pentecostes, Anno Domini 1580, 21 Maii') recapitulates the sequence but views it from a detached point of view as a divine triumph.

Janelle wrongly describes the Latin poem as an "epic fragment".(40) But though it is neither epic nor fragmentary, the poem does oddly combine the language of triumph and elegiac complaint. It begins in the triumphant mode with a description of Christ's entry into Heaven, loaded with spoils (the Fathers of Limbo), in the manner of the Roman or Renaissance warrior-hero:

Postquam tartarei spoliis ditatus Avern  
Vi propria superas Christus rediisset ad auras  
Divino angelicas inter splendore phalanges



Conspicuuus summas caeli se tollit in arces  
(11.1-4)

[When, loaded with the spoils of the Underworld,  
by his own strength Christ had returned  
to the upper regions, with divine splendour  
he ascended between ranks of angels in view of all  
to the highest summits of Heaven.]

The poem, however, abruptly shifts from the triumphal to an elegiac  
mode, as a human voice is heard complaining of the sufferings of  
mankind:

solus miser incola terrae  
Angustam patitur sortem duroque laborum  
Pondere depressus querulo petit ore iuvantem  
(11.7-9)

[Alone and wretched the earth-dweller endures a  
straitened lot; and bowed by a heavy burden  
of troubles, begs - with plaintive voice -  
for a helper.]

The complaint that follows restates the sufferings and petitions of  
two of the poems which are grouped with 'In Festum Pentecostes...';  
'Ad Deum in Afflictione' and 'Ad Sanctam Catherinam, Virginem et  
Martyrem':

cur nos ardentibus ustos  
Curarum flammis et saucia corda gerentes  
Deseris, Hei miseris quis nos solabitur ultra  
Sufficit exilium patrique absentia regni  
Sufficiunt varii casus diuturnaque poena  
Quam caro quam mundus quam daemonis impetus infert  
(11.11-16)

[Why do you forsake us who are  
Consumed with burning flames of care, and carry wounded hearts?  
Alas, who else will console us in our misery?  
Exile is sufficient, and absence from the patial kingdom;  
Sufficient are the various disasters and daily penalties  
Which the flesh, the world, and the assaults of the devil bring.]

He warns that unless God strengthens man's mind, he is bound to fall,  
but promises that should God relieve human distress heaven, hell, and  
earth will praise Him in a triple chorus. God hears the petition and  
resolves to cure man's disease with a peaceful medicine. Accordingly  
the Third Person of the Trinity descends through the ether, hurrying

towards the apostolic host. The poem ends at this point.

Far from being epic, the genre is clearly elegiac, even to the fact that the petition is answered, for it is a part of the conventions of elegy that not all of a complainant's requests should be wasted on empty air.(41) One might be inclined to put this mixture of generic registers down to juvenile clumsiness, were it not for the fact that Southwell uses a similar technique in one of the most passionate and witty of his English poems, 'Christs Bloody Sweat'.

'In Festum Pentecostes, Anno Domini 1580, 21 Maii' is unique among Southwell's poems in being dated, and one would suggest that this date may well represent the terminal date for Southwell's Latin poetry as he put his literary studies behind him and turned to the theological and devotional disciplines entailed by his entry into the priesthood.

7.0

In conclusion, I would make two points, both of which are correctives to views expressed by the main previous commentator on the Latin poems, Pierre Janelle.

These are that the Latin poems are far better, and also that they are far closer to the English poems than Janelle allows. In both cases Janelle is swayed by a misconstruction of Southwell's career as a progress from artifice to naturalness. However, Janelle is an excellent critic and scholar despite himself, for speaking of the 'Epistola' he concedes that the "sweetness and harmony of his latin are scarcely less than those of his English lyrics."(42) One would go further, and suggest that a large part of his Latin poetry is superior to a significant portion of the English work which is comparatively impoverished in terms of language and metre and adds little of value to what Southwell had already achieved in Latin. That is to say that the Latin poetry at its best is better than the English poetry at its

worst.

The basis of this judgement lies in a comparison of the English and Latin poetry, demonstrating the close relation between them, and indeed the derivation of much of the English work from the Latin poetry, which will be treated at length in a subsequent chapter.

### Chapter III

#### The English Poems as a Sequence

##### 1.0

##### A note on the text of Southwell's English Poetry.

Grosart, the chief nineteenth-century editor of Southwell, assumed, from references to torments and imprisonment, that "probably his entire Poems [excluding the Latin poems] were produced in prison", which would assign them to the period 1592-1595.(1) On the basis of the trustworthy testimony of Garnet, Southwell's companion and Superior on the Jesuit Mission, that Southwell had been denied writing facilities during his imprisonment, Janelle effectively disproved this view.(2) (An exception which proves the rule is the letter Southwell wrote from the Tower to Robert Cecil.(3) Precisely because he was normally denied means of communication, Garnet would have been unaware of this letter.)

Janelle, in turn, erected a misleading account of Southwell's development upon the supposed authorial hand in the preparation of the first printed volume of the poems, Saint Peters Complaint and other poems, 1595; neglected the manuscript compilation, which probably is more faithful to Southwell's intentions; and gave strong emphasis to

poems which Nancy Brown, his scholarly modern editor, considers of dubious authenticity.(4)

In both cases, misleading views arose from the relatively imperfect state of textual scholarship. They illustrate the point that such knowledge is highly relevant to any study of the poetry. While our knowledge of the transmission of the texts is still far from complete, and seems likely to remain so, since the time of Grosart and Janelle progress has been made which affords a basis for a more accurate account of the poems.

As to defining the period within which the majority of Southwell's English poems were written, there is little reason to doubt Nancy Brown's statement that:

Southwell's poetry in English was written during the six years of his work as a priest in the English Mission, from the time of his return in July 1586 to his arrest in June 1592.(5)

Before his return to England, Latin was the main language of his literary activity. Moreover, there are signs that he began his English writing with a period of imitation and adaptation of existing models such as Dyer's 'Fancy'. Though it cannot be entirely ruled out that some of the poems may have been written abroad, it is far more plausible to assume that he switched from Latin to English on his return to England. (Some qualifications need to be entered here, however. Some English poems of dubious authenticity might represent work dating from his period abroad. The draft of a translation of Tansillo's Lagrima may also date from the Italian period; and one Latin poem can be definitely dated in the English period.(6)) However, while some uncertainty persists on this point, it may be taken as certain that none of his extant poems were written after the beginning of his captivity in 1592.

From the time of his arrest the dissemination of his literary work lay in other hands, and the problem of reconstructing the

transmission of the text (which is relevant to the problems of ordering, dating, and establishing the canon of the poems), is beset with difficulties.

There are two traditions for the texts of Southwell's poetry; the printed editions, and a set of manuscript collections. The relevant early printed editions are:

1. Saint Peters Complaint, with other Poemes, published by John Wolfe, soon after Southwell's execution, probably in March 1595.
2. A second enlarged edition following soon after the first, and published probably in April 1595.
3. Maeoniae, a collection of of nineteen poems not included in the above, entered on the Stationers Register in October 1595.

The relevant manuscripts are four compilations of fifty-two shorter poems and one which includes three poems not included in the other manuscripts but included in Maeoniae.(7)

On the basis of the contents and order of these various sources one can give the following tentative account of the transmission of the poetry.

Southwell prepared a selection or selections of his poems for circulation. 'Saint Peters Complaint' in its long form was not included and may have circulated separately. This inference is based on indications as to the contents of the selection contained in the introductory letter and the poem addressing the reader. 'Saint Peters Complaint' also had its own introductory poem.

Wolfe must have had a manuscript of 'Saint Peters Complaint' and a selection of Southwell's poems, probably in a form arranged by Southwell. It is likely that he took liberties with this selection since he was using it as supporting material for the long poem, designed to fill out the volume.

Very soon after the first edition and before it was completely

sold he published a second edition enlarged by the addition of eight poems printed in the order in which they are found in the existing manuscripts. The question arises as to whether Wolfe had come into new material or was using poems which had been held back either as a commercial tactic or in order to produce the first edition with the least possible delay to take advantage of the interest aroused by Southwell's execution. The latter possibilities seem the more likely, since Wolfe and the subsequent publishers of this selection would hardly have failed to exploit the commercial value of further poems they possessed. We may assume, then, that Wolfe did not have a copy of the major manuscript collection of the shorter poems, but of a lesser collection which, nevertheless, had some similarity in the ordering of the poems to the later, fuller compilation.

Nancy Brown suggests that the major manuscript compilation would have been prepared by an editor close to Southwell shortly after his imprisonment.(8) It seems to me, however, unlikely that while hope of life and freedom remained an editor would take on the responsibility of collecting and ordering his English poems. Such an act would seem to fall much more appropriately in the period after Southwell's death, partly to preserve his work, partly out of pious veneration for a martyr, and partly to remedy the incomplete text of the printed volumes.

It seems likely that by the time Maeoniae was entered at the Stationers Register in October 1595, this fuller compilation was in circulation, since the poems of Maeoniae are printed in the order in which they occur in the manuscript, without repeating any of the material already published in the 'Saint Peters Complaint' volumes.

The implication that follows from these various assumptions is that the order of Southwell's own manuscript compilation is closely followed by the fuller compilation where the contents of the two coincide. It is not inconceivable that the editor of the manuscript

drew on some plan for the order of the poems found among Southwell's papers.

2.0

### The collection as a Sequence

Thus while the extent of Southwell's responsibility for the manuscript order of his shorter English poems, for the sequence as a sequence, is uncertain, there are strong grounds for believing that it faithfully reflects his intentions as they were revealed in the compilations for which he was responsible, and as they were known to the contemporary Catholic editor of the major manuscript collection, who would most probably have had access to his papers.

Southwell's predilection for the sequence as a form is already in evidence in the Latin poetry which markedly foreshadows the pattern of the English poems. Apart from the two longer poems ('Poema de assumptione BVM' and the 'Epistola...'), both of which have parallels with the long English poem, 'Saint Peters Complaint', it consists of two sequences. The first of these, the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies', is clearly and unmistakeably a formal sequence, and has marked similarities to the English 'Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ'. The second consists of a handful of shorter Latin poems which show considerable variation of style and were probably written independently as occasional poems. It is clear, however, that they have been arranged retrospectively to form a narrative series. The entire collection of the shorter English poems could be said to represent a sequence of this kind.

Southwell's prefatory letter and poem ('The Author to his loving Cosen' and 'To the Reader') introduce Biblical 'types' for his activity as a poet which illuminate his intentions. In the prefatory letter the Biblical type is Christ:



Christ himselfe by making a Himne, the conclusion of his last Supper, and the Prologue to the first Pageant of his Passion, gave his Spouse a methode to immitate, as in the office of the Church it appeareth, and all men a paterne to know the true use of this measured and footed stile.(9)

This is a densely interwoven passage closely associating the life of Christ, the liturgy of the Church, and Southwell's own life as priest, poet and martyr. As a priest he celebrated the Last Supper, as a poet he made his hymns, and as a martyr he acted in the Pageant of his own particular Passion. In emphasising the central role of poetry as an expression of devotion, Southwell has a different view of his own poetry than those critics who have seen it primarily as an instrument of his Mission, perceiving "beneath the musical cadences...an undeviating didactic intention".(10) Of course these two uses of poetry are far from exclusive or contradictory. However, the notion of Southwell as a devotional poet addressing himself to God is a larger, more interesting, and more satisfactory conception than that of his being a didactic poet addressing himself to men.

The life of Christ as it is treated in the passage supplies an order which governs alike the order of the Eucharist and of Southwell's own life. It is interesting that Southwell expresses this order in terms of literary and dramatic art; using such terms as prologue and pageant. Might one not also extrapolate the notion that such an order should govern a collection of poems? The passage gives some slight, but only slight, grounds for such an inference. Further support for such a view, however, might be drawn from the prefatory poem.

The actual hymn that Christ and his disciples sang is traditionally identified as consisting of the Alleluia Psalms, and appropriately enough the second Biblical type Southwell refers to is David: "With David verse to vertue I apply".(11) The Book of Psalms had long been considered a coherent, orderly, and varied sequence of

lyrics; and in invoking David, Southwell might be regarded as presenting himself in the role of Christian Psalmist, implicitly claiming these qualities for his own work.(12) It is even conceivable that, following the precedent of the supposed numerological construction of the Book of Psalms, the number of poems in the collection was designedly made equal to the number of weeks in the year. The shorter poems of Claudian, which also number fifty-two supply a precedent; though such a design should, most probably, be attributed to the anonymous editor rather than to Southwell.(13)

While the main principle of organization is narrative - the sequence follows the order of events in the life of Christ, and then in the life of the Christian - this principle accommodates a logical and hierarchical ordering also. Thus the poems may be divided into two distinct groups. The first treats of members of Christ's family, Mary, Christ, Joseph; while the second treats of common humanity, albeit represented in certain poems by David, St.Peter, or Mary Magdalen. (This division corresponds loosely to that of 'religious' and 'secular' poetry. One says 'loosely' because Southwell only ventures into the territory of secular poetry in order to condemn secular values, or to give moral homilies which derive from his religious convictions.) The respective order of these two groups is both hierarchical and narrative in that the religious poems come first both by virtue of the higher status of their subjects, and of their historical - and logical - priority. The same principles operate in the arrangement of the separate groups.

Although for convenience I propose to take the two parts of the sequence separately, it should be noted that these ordering principles operate across the division to give it a broad unity. Thus the second section continues the hierarchical order of the first, which focusses upon Christ and his family, by treating in turn, Peter, Mary Magdalen, David, Mary Stuart, an aristocratic Elizabethan martyr, and finally

the lowly worms of common humanity.

It is, one would argue, a deliberate feature of the sequence that it should begin with the 'most' (the Virgin Mary) and end with 'the least'. Just as the hooks and eyes that link one poem to another in the sequence are often echoed keywords, so here we are perhaps intended to note an echo in the form of the contrasting superlatives applied to the Virgin Mary -

Both Grace and Nature did their force unite,  
To make this babe the summe of all their best,  
Our most, her least, our million, but her mite:  
( 'The Virgine Maries Conception', ll.7-9)

- and to the ordinary Christian in the title of the final poem, 'Score not the Least'.

For Southwell, this contrast of highest and lowest had a special meaning, since Christ and the Church in their humiliation become the lowest, become 'worms'; while the lowest through Christ, are united with the highest: a paradox powerfully expressed in the poem 'Christs Bloody Sweat'.

The first part of the sequence consists of twenty-four religious poems arranged in the following order:

1. Fourteen poems comprising 'The Sequence on The Virgin Mary and Christ'.
2. A group of four poems on the Nativity comprising: 'A Childe my Choyce', 'New Heaven, New Warre', 'The Burning Babe', and 'New Prince, New Pompe'
3. A group of three poems on Christ's vigil in Gethsemane comprising: 'Sinnes Heavie Loade', 'Christs Bloody Sweat', and 'Christs Sleeping Friends'
4. An apparently misplaced poem, 'Josephs Amazement', dramatizing his distraction on learning of Mary's pregnancy.
5. Two poems on the Eucharist: 'A Holy Hymme', and 'Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter'.

Clearly there is a narrative order here, though with some overlap

and repetition. The Nativity of Christ, for example, is treated both in the formal 'Sequence...' and in the more informal grouping of poems on the subject. It seems that the topics of the Nativity and Gethsemane were ones Southwell returned to again and again, perhaps as the year brought round the two chief festivals of the Church - Christmas and Easter - with which they were associated. Unlike 'The Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ' which is consistent in style and tone, the poems in these two groups are extremely varied, and were perhaps written over a number of years.

In addition to the clear narrative order of the groups, there are also indications of a similar order within the separate groups. In the Nativity poems the first poem, 'A Childe my Choyce', can be seen as treating the subject of the childhood of Christ in general terms and introducing it as a subject appropriate for poetry:

Let folly praise that fancie loves, I praise and love that child,  
Whose hart, no thought: whose tong, no word: whose hand, no deed defile,

Following from this introduction, 'New Heaven, New Warre' focusses upon the Christ-child in the manger. The poem consists of two parts of equal length corresponding to the two parts of the title. In the first part the angels are summoned to the manger, their new heaven, to tend the cold and hungry babe. In the second, the poet prophesies that the babe will engage Satan in warfare, and apostrophises his own soul to join with Christ in the fight. 'The Burning Babe' tells of the poet's vision of the child who addresses him on the work of redemption achieved through the Passion. Clearly, such a vision belongs both historically and logically after the manger scene of the previous poem. The final poem, 'New Prince, New Pompe', presents more of a problem. It recapitulates the subject of 'New Heaven, New Warre' in focussing upon the child in the manger, and it may be that it was relegated to the final position as the less interesting and accomplished of the poems. It does, however, differ markedly from the

previous poems in one particular respect. They are written, as it were, in the first person - the poet addresses his own soul, or describes his private vision. In this last poem alone he addresses his fellow Christians:

With joy approach O Christian wight,  
Doe homage to thy King;  
(11.25-26)

It might be seen, therefore, as opening out from private to shared devotion and hence as furnishing a suitable envoi to the group.

The situation is clearer with the Gethsemane poems which follow the Biblical order of events as it may be pieced together from the Gospel accounts. The subjects of the poems in the order in which they occur are: Christ's fall to the ground, his bloody sweat, and the disciples' sleeping.

Two points which call for special comment are the absence of any poems treating of the central event of the Passion, the Crucifixion; and the apparently anomalous position of 'Josephs Amazement'.

As to the first point, Gethsemane is, in Southwell's own words, 'the first Pageant' of Christ's Passion, and Southwell treats the larger event very effectively in his poems on Gethsemane. The humiliation of Christ's prostration, the agony of his bloody sweat, and his abandonment by the sleeping disciples function as types and synecdoches of the whole Passion.

In addition, however, there are four poems on the subject of the Passion extant in the Harmsworth MS, two of which are printed in Maeoniae. Nancy Brown concludes that the two poems which occur only in the one MS, 'Christs Answere' (a sequel to 'The Virgin Mary to Christ on the Crosse') and 'Christ upon the Crosse to Man', are unlikely to be Southwell's work. The two poems which occur also in Maeoniae, 'The Virgin Mary to Christ on the Crosse' and 'Man to the Wound in Christs Side, she reluctantly admits to the canon on the

authority of Maeoniae and on the grounds of their showing features typical of Southwell. The first of these is printed exactly where one would expect to find Passion poems; immediately after 'Christs Sleeping Friends', the last of the Gethsemane poems. The second is ambiguous in character, being both a Passion poem and a poem of remorse and spiritual aspiration belonging historically to the time of the speaker rather than that of Christ. As such it is appropriately printed between 'S. Peters Remorse' and 'A Vale of Teares'. (Some of the poems which intervene in the manuscript compilation are, of course, absent from Maeoniae.) How these poems came to be included in the manuscript used for Maeoniae, or discarded from the more authoritative of the extant manuscripts are questions one cannot answer.

As to the second point, 'Josephs Amazement' has received some very severe criticism, though not all the comments have been so harsh as Martz's "incredibly bad".(14) At the risk of seeming perverse one would suggest that it is far from being the bad poem that critics have maintained; that, in fact, critics have almost universally missed the point. The Ignatian insistence on 'seeing the spot' worked itself out in several ways, besides the more familiar devotional meditation. It gave rise also to a tradition of verisimilitude, for example, in the Jesuit drama; and of course not all subjects were suitable for reverent devotion. Sometimes, indeed, a subject might invite a comic treatment. What critics of the poem object to is Southwell's choice of subject-matter, of Joseph's dilemma on finding that Mary is pregnant and hence, it seems, an adulteress. Southwell treats the subject with psychological realism, showing Joseph torn between his desire to abandon Mary and his desire to remain with her. They imply that it is irreverent and bad taste to show Joseph seriously considering that Mary might be a whore. What they miss is that Joseph's dilemma is expressed in terms precisely applicable to that in

which Elizabethan Catholics found themselves:

Sweet signes of purest thoughts in saintly face,  
Assur'd the eye of her unstayned will,  
Yet in this seeming lustre, seeme to lie  
Such crimes for which the law condemnes to die.  
(11.51-54)

The apparent bad taste of the poem, its irreverence, work to make the poem a sympathetic and humorously-ironic appeal to the wavering Catholic. The poem gives a 'balanced report' of his dilemma and shows him at the end with it unresolved:

She is a friend to love, a foe to loth,  
And in suspence I hang between them both.  
(11.83-84)

The irony of the poem is that just as Joseph is thinking the unthinkable in considering that Mary might have deceived him, so the Catholic who considers leaving the Church because it is legally proscribed, or who gives any credence to Protestant propaganda, is deceived by false appearances.

It is out of recognition of the different character of the poem that the editor of the sequence placed it at the end of the poems dealing with the Holy Family. It is unlikely that it is misplaced, as has been suggested.

Overall, the first part of the sequence shows a remarkable variety of style and approach to a varied subject-matter. Janelle attempted to arrange these variations in the chronological order of Southwell's poetic development. However, it would probably be more accurate to see them as generic variations governed in large part by what was proper and decorous for the particular subject.

Thus the doctrinal mysteries of the lives of Mary and Christ, and the sacraments, are celebrated in an epigrammatic style which uses the wit of conceits and rhetorical patterning as a medium to express the wit of God. The poems on the Nativity, however, are simpler lyrical

poems celebrating the birth of a child. In the poems on Gethsemane we find wit comparable with that of the poems on Mary, but the tone and approach are radically different. These are meditations in which the poet realises the sufferings of Christ and prays to be united with him both in his sufferings and his triumph. The formal origins of these poems is in Neo-Latin elegy; poetry expressing love, suffering, and longing for relief. A fourth style which is dramatic and ironic is rare in Southwell's poetry, the only other example apart from 'Josephs Amazement' being 'Mary Magdalens Blush', though this form of ironic dramatic monologue inviting interpretation as political fable, is an important element in 'Saint Peters Complaint'.

A similar account can be given of the second part of the sequence which, however, is larger, more varied, and comparatively diffuse. Especially towards the end where there are relatively large numbers of poems with similar subject matter, it is sometimes difficult to discern the reasons for a particular ordering of the poems, and the sequential argument appears to lapse. Given the editor's desire to accommodate all, or almost all, the shorter poems, it is inevitable that some part of the collection should have become a 'miscellaneous' section for poems that had no clear place elsewhere.

The twenty-eight poems which comprise this part of the sequence are arranged in the following order:

1. 'Complaint' (or 'elegiac') poems of remorse:
  - i. of Saints: 'Saint Peters Complaynte' (the short version), 'S. Peters Afflicted Minde', 'Mary Magdalens Blush', 'S. Peters Remorse', 'Davids Peccavi'.
  - ii. of ordinary Christians: 'A Phansie Turned to a Sinners Complaint', 'A Vale of Teares', 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke'.
2. Poems of Christian heroes and martyrs: 'Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death', 'Decease Release', 'I Dye without Desert'.
3. Poems dramatising the conflict between worldly and spiritual things; and expressing dispraise of fleshly life, and praise, love, and desire for heaven: 'Mans Civill Warre', 'Life is but Losse', 'I Die Alive', 'What Joy to Live?', 'Lifes Death Loves Life', 'At Home in



Heaven', 'Looke Home'.

4. Didactic wisdom poems: 'Times Goe by Turnes', 'Losse in Delaies', 'Loves Servile Lot', 'Lewd Love is Losse', 'Loves Garden Grief', 'Fortunes Falsehoode', 'From Fortunes Reach', 'Content and Rich', 'Scorne not the Least'.

Although, lacking a single unifying thread such as Christ's life provides for the earlier part - and consequently being less straightforward - the argument of this section can be traced with reasonable clarity.

It is appropriate that the section should begin with remorse which is seen as the foundation of the Church and of the Christian life of the individual. The Church could be said to have arisen from Peter's remorse for his sinful behaviour during Christ's Passion. Peter, of course, as well as establishing the pattern for the Church as a whole (indeed he functions in the poem as a metonymy for the Church), establishes a pattern for the individual Christian. As payment of the penalty of sin, and purgation of its corrupting effects, remorse is an essential first step on the Christian's entry into the full blessings of Grace. (It is itself the first sign of the work of Grace.) The final poem of the group, 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke', shows the process of remorse, purgation, and reconciliation complete:

Till mercy raisde me from my fall,  
And grace my ruines did repaire.  
(11.59-60)

The completion of the process of purgation leads naturally to the next group of three poems dealing with heroes and martyrs who have achieved their reward. In accordance with the general principle of the sequence, the poems are arranged in a hierarchical order which also conforms with the historical order of their subjects: Mary Magdalen, followed by Mary Stuart, and lastly an anonymous Catholic peer.

These two sections might be seen as laying out by various examples the pattern of the Christian life as complete and achieved in the lives of notable and representative penitents, saints, and martyrs. In the next part of the sequence, Southwell addresses himself to the task of instructing, exhorting, advising, and reassuring the ordinary Catholic.

He starts from the situation of the ordinary Christian, wavering between the balanced forces of soul and sense, spiritual and secular values. He goes on to state the case for the superiority of spiritual values and to dispraise secular values. Having inspired the Christian with hope and desire to enjoy Heaven, the sequence concludes with a collection of didactic and homiletic poems on various subjects; The largest group of these consists of dispraise of profane love. Others dispraise fortune; and still others are poems of proverbial wisdom, exhorting the reader to act without delay, to be firm amidst misfortune, and to cultivate humility for moral and practical reasons.

Turning to look at the groups in more detail, 'Saint Peters Complaynte' stands first among the poems of remorse because of Peter's historical and hierarchical priority among Christians. As we will see in our account of the long version of this poem, 'Saint Peters Complaint', Peter's remorse is contemporaneous with Christ's Passion - it is almost an image or reflection of the Passion in which Peter follows in the footsteps of Christ. Seen in this light, the poem is a link between the earlier and later sections of the sequence.

Some uncertainty attaches to the order of the next three poems. Janelle notes that 'S. Peters Afflicted Minde' and 'S. Peters Remorse' "are really but one".<sup>(15)</sup> Analysis of the structure of the poems suggests, however, that they are not a single poem. 'S. Peters Afflicted Minde' is constructed on a principle of corresponding parts. The first two stanzas introduce five aspects of Saint Peter's 'affliction': that he is sick, an orphan, a wounded wretch, a

caitiff, and consumed with care. The remainder of the poem amplifies these topics in the order in which they have been stated without leaving any loose ends. It is probable, therefore, that it is a self-contained poem. The poem ends with Peter in a state of despair:

My hart is but the haunt  
Where all dislikes doe keepe:  
And who can blame so lost a wretch,  
Though teares of blood he weepe.  
(ll.21-29)

One notes that Peter's abandonment and bloody tears are parallels with Christ's Passion which confirms that the subject is indeed Peter and that the title of the poem was supplied by Southwell - points which have been doubted. As an ending, however, this is unedifying and untypical of Southwell's work where suffering such as this is inevitably the prelude to penitent remorse and hope of mercy. 'S. Peters Remorse' is in the same metre and begins where this poem leaves off, and for these reasons it is almost certain that the poems, while not being necessarily parts of a single poem, are closely linked and would be placed together. Scallion suggests that a sheet of the original manuscript may have been misplaced and that 'Mary Magdalens Blush' should become the first poem of the group.(16) While his explanation of the misplacement is plausible, his revised order is not since it would give Mary Magdalen precedence over Peter. It is more likely that 'Mary Magdalens Blush' should come either after 'Saint Peters Complaynte' or after the companion poems 'S.Peters Afflicted Minde' and 'S.Peters Remorse', Mary holding second place to Peter in the hierarchy of favoured saints. Of these two possibilities, the most likely is that it should come immediately after 'Saint Peters Complaynte', as in some respects a complementary poem.

'Saint Peters Complaynte' and 'Mary Magdalens Blush' are complementary in that while Peter did not love Christ enough, Mary loved him too much. The latter poem is not without complexity.

Ostensibly it is an expression of remorse for a sensual life of love:

...for a world, whose pleasures pass away:  
I lose a world, whose joyes are past decay.

O sence, O soule, O had, O hoped blisse,  
You wooe, you weane, you draw, you drive me back.  
Your crosse-encountring, like their combate is,  
That never end but with some deadly wrack.  
When sense doth winne, the soule doth loose the field,  
And present happes, make future hopes to yeeld.  
(11.23-30)

But it is not simply a matter of condemning sense in favour of soul,  
for it was sense that led to her love of Christ.

Yet sense doth scarce deserve these hard complaints,  
Love is the theife, sense but the entring place.  
Yet graunt I must, sense is not free from sinne,  
For theefe he is that theefe admitteth in.  
(11.33-36)

The lines refer both to her profane loves and her love of Christ.  
Mary's situation is curiously contradictory - a unique paradox - since  
she suffers remorse for her profane loves, yet remains the wounded  
lover of Christ unable to repent the sensual element - albeit  
unrequited - in her love for him. The irony and tension of this  
dramatic poem is closely akin to that of 'Josephs Amazement'.

The next poem, 'Davids Peccavi', is ordered in terms of this  
Catholic hierarchy. David follows Peter and Mary, yet is pre-eminent  
among Old Testament figures and the rest of mankind, as a forefather  
of Christ. The poem is notable for the psychological analysis of  
David's lapse and recovery.

I Fansie deem'd fit guide to leade my way,  
And as I deem'd, I did pursue her track;  
Wit lost his ayme, and will was Fancies pray,  
The Rebell wan, the Ruler went to wrack:  
But now sith fansie did with folly end,  
Wit bought with losse, will taught by wit, will mend.  
(11.25-30)

The word 'fansie' here supplies a link with the following poem,  
'A Phansie Turned to a Sinners Complaint'. In fact the latter poem

deals with the same subject - love turned sour, succeeded by grief and repentance. Doubtless the compiler has placed it here as illustrative of the preceding poem. The final stanzas of the poem express the speaker's grief in terms of an allegorical landscape:

My exercise remorse,  
And dolefull sinners layes,  
My booke remembrance of my crimes,  
And faults of former dayes

My walke the path of plaint,  
My prospect into hell;  
Where Judas and his cursed crue,  
In endlesse paines doe dwell.  
(ll.1137-144)

'A Vale of Teares', amplifies this theme, describing the sad landscape appropriate to remorse and penitence:

A vale there is enwrapt with dreadfull shades,  
Which thicke of mourning pines shroudes from the sunne,  
Where hanging clifts yeld short and dumpish glades,  
And snowie floud with broken streames doth runne,

. . .

Set here my soule maine streames of teares afloate,  
Here all thy sinfull foiles alone recount,  
Of solemne tunes make thou the dolefulst note,  
That to thy ditties dolor may amount.  
(ll.1-4, 61-64)

The next poem, 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke' is a narrative in the past tense of one who has fallen away from virtue into sin, has suffered remorse and penitential suffering, has withstood the temptation of sin, until at last mercy and grace have mended or redeemed his fall. It concludes this section of poems on remorse and penitence.

The final line of 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke', "And grace my ruines did repaire", prefigures the next group of poems which deal with figures who have entered heaven: Mary Magdalen, Mary Stuart, and an anonymous Catholic peer suffering for his religion. The triumphant sanctity of these martyrs might be seen as the culmination of the

penitential discipline of the earlier poems. As before, the poems are arranged in strict hierarchical sequence: the saint, the martyred Queen, and the peer. By dying for Christ, these martyrs escaped the contradictions of life and entered into heavenly felicity. This is the case even of Mary Magdalen who is, as it were, a martyr by desire:

Sith my life from life is parted:  
Death come take thy portion.  
Who survives, when life is murdred,  
Lives by meere extortion.  
All that live, and not in God:  
Couch their life in deaths abod.  
(11.1-6)

The martyr poems could be said to mark the end of the second major division of the sequence. The first part had dealt with the life of Christ and his Holy Family and the central doctrine of the Eucharist. The second had set out a pattern of Christian life exemplified in the lives of outstanding and representative penitents and martyrs.

The third part addresses itself to the situation of the ordinary wavering and uncommitted Christian. The order of the poems reflects the evangelical strategy of the Jesuits. They would invite the uncommitted Christian to analyse his situation in terms of alternative choices; between, for example, God and the world, spiritual and carnal life, profane and divine love, a world 'whose joyes are past decay' and a world 'whose pleasures passe away'. (Such parallel and contrasting terms are habitual with Southwell, and even govern the rhetorical structure of some of his poems.) Having analysed one's situation thus, one was encouraged to make a choice (most often, of course, the choice of a religious vocation), which thereafter was to be regarded as a permanent and solemn contract. Once made, the purpose of the devotional life was to reinforce the choice by continued meditation on the horrors of sin and hell and the beauty and joy of heaven. It has been suggested by Southwell's biographer

Christopher Devlin, that the Jesuit discipline "set up an interior tension which could only be resolved by crucifixion"; a situation implied in the rule of the order that its members were "to recoil from everything that the world loves and embraces; [and] to allow and long for, with the whole heart, whatever Christ our Lord loved and endured".(17) Such a pattern is evident in Southwell's poetry.

'Mans Civill Warre', the opening poem of this section fulfils the task of laying out the alternatives between which the average man wavers, and of which the Jesuit would have him choose:

My hovering thoughts would flie to heaven  
And quiet nestle in the skie,  
Faine would my ship in vertues shore  
Without remove at anchor lie:

But mounting thoughts are hailed downe  
With heavie poise of mortall load,  
And blustering stormes denie my ship  
In vertues haven secure aboade.  
(11.1-8)

All but the final stanza express conflict and indecision. Only the last stanza (and it is a weakness of the poem that it should be tacked on rather than arise from what has gone before), lamely adds the moral:

Dame pleasures drugges are steeped in sinne,  
Their sugred tast doth breed<sup>e</sup> annoy,  
O fickle sense beware her ginne,  
Sell not thy soule for brittle joy.  
(11.29-32)

In the poems that follow the crucial choice has been made and the dilemma changes to that of the conflict between an enforced and hated life which is a kind of death, and desire for death as the entry into true heavenly life and resolution of the civil war of the previous poem:

Death parteth but two ever fighting foes,  
Whose civill strife doth worke our endlesse woes.

. . .

Where life is lov'd, thou ready art to kill,  
And to abridge with sodaine pangues their joy,  
Where life is loath'd thou wilt not worke their will,  
But dost adjourne their death to their annoy,

. . .  
Avant O viper, I thy spight defie,  
There is a God that overrules thy force,  
Who can thy weapons to his will apply,  
And shorten or prolong our brittle course:  
I on his mercie, not thy might relye,  
To him I live, for him I hope to dye.  
( 'Life is but Losse'; ll.11-12, 31-34, 37-42)

Dispraise of life and desire for death and endless joys are a cluster of themes to which Southwell returns again and again. Apart from the fact that the morality of suicide - "to be or not to be" - was a not uncommon literary topic at the time resulting, perhaps, from the collision of Classical and Christian teaching on the subject, it had particular relevance for Southwell, as the number of poems expressing desire for death as the beginning of true life and joy testifies. The resolution of the conflict is to desire to die as a martyr for God.

A number of poems, with varying success, play variations on these themes as the following quotations from other poems in the group, given in their order in the sequence, illustrate:

Soare up my soule unto thy rest,  
Cast off this loathsome loade:  
Long is the date of thy exile,  
Too long thy strait abode.  
( 'Seeke Flowers of Heaven', ll.1-4)

Not where I breath, but where I love I live,  
Not where I love, but where I am I die:  
The life I wish, must future glory give,  
The deathes I feele, in present dangers lie.  
( 'I Die Alive', ll.13-16)

Here beautie is a baite that swallowed choakes,  
A treasure sought still to the owners harmes:  
A light that eies to murdring sight provokes,  
A grace that soules enchants with mortall charmes,  
A luring aime to Cupids fiery flights,  
A balefull blisse that damnes where it delights.

O who would live so many deathes to trye?  
Where will doth wish, that wisdome doth reprove:  
Where nature craves, that grace must needes denie,  
Where sense doth like, that reason cannot love,  
Where best in shew, in finall prooffe is worst,  
Where pleasures upshot is to die accurst.



('What Joy to Live', ll.19-30)

Who lives in love, loves least to live,  
And long delaies doth rue:  
If him he love by whom he lives,  
To whom all love is due.

. . .  
Mourne therefore no true lovers death:  
Life onely him annoyes,  
And when he taketh leave of life,  
Then love beginnes his joyes.  
('Lifes Death Loves Life', ll.1-4, 29-32)

It would perhaps be mistaken to discern too clear a development in this section since all the poems treat more or less the same themes. Perhaps because of the number of poems to be accommodated, the argument tends to meander repetitiously.

However, despite these necessary qualifications, there is in this section of the sequence a discernible rising to a climax in the closing poems of the group, 'At Home in Heaven' and 'Looke Home', which are among Southwell's best work. Earlier poems had expressed the soul's love of God. 'At home in Heaven' sees the love as a reciprocal amatory relationship. Here Southwell most successfully joins the themes of the earlier poems in an eloquent adaptation of Neoplatonic Petrarchan love poetry:

Faire soule, how long shall veyles thy graces shroud?  
How long shall this exile with-hold thy right?  
When will thy sunne disperse this mortall cloud,  
And give thy gloryes scope to blaze their light?

. . .  
Thy ghostly beautie offred force to God,  
It cheyn'd him in the lynckes of tender love.  
It woon his will with man to make abode:  
It stai'd his Sword, and did his wrath remove.

. . .  
O soule do not thy noble thoughtes abase  
To lose thy loves in any mortall wight:  
Content thy eye at home with native grace,  
Sith God him selfe is ravisht with thy sight.  
If on thy beautie God enamored bee:  
Base is thy love of any lesse then hee.  
(ll.1-4, 6-10, 25-30)

Both the subject-matter and the title of 'Looke Home', the last poem of this group, refer back to and follow from the previous poem, 'At Home in Heaven'. In particular, they might be seen as amplifying and fulfilling the instruction of the previous poem to "Content thy eye at home with native grace". 'Home' in both poems has a double reference. It is both one's own soul, and heaven which is mirrored in the soul and is the soul's 'native' country from which it is 'exiled'. In 'Looke Home' the 'civil war' fought out in the foregoing poems has been resolved in favour of the soul. The poem daringly fulfils the aim expressed in the opening poem of the group, and frustrated there by worldly impediments:

When inward eie to heavenly sights  
Doth draw my longing harts desire,  
The world with jesses of delights  
Would to her pearch my thoughts retire,  
(*'Mans Civill Warre'*, ll.9-12)

In 'Looke Home' the inward eye enjoys the delights of heavenly sights, that is of the soul as an image of God and heaven, without distraction. Through the verbal echoes in the line "Retyred thoughts enjoy their own delights", the later poem seems almost to have the earlier poem in mind, and to be consciously completing something started in the earlier poem.

After the 'heavenly sights' of 'Looke Home' the sequence turns to more mundane subject-matter with a closing section aimed at reassuring and encouraging the ordinary Catholic in the difficult situation of Elizabethan England. In a sense the closing group of poems which had begun with the greatest ends here with the ordinary Christian - the least.

The closing group consists of nine poems of prudential advice and moral instruction and exhortation which subtly adapt their contemporary poetic models; poems of proverbial wisdom, dispraises of profane love, and praises of 'a mean and constant estate'.

The proverbial poems, for example, make specific allusions to the situation of Catholics and their Church which are veiled by the conventional and general character of the wisdom being offered. For example in 'Times Goe by Turnes':

The lopped tree in time may grow againe,  
Most naked plantes renew both fruit and flower:  
The soriest wight may find release of paine,  
The dryest soyle sucke in some moystning shower.  
Tims goe by turnes and chaunces chaunge by course:  
From fowle to faire: from better happe, to worse.  
(11.1-6)

The 'lopped tree' and 'naked plantes' here are references to the Church and to Catholics suffering from persecution, yet whose situation is likely to improve with the revolutions of political affairs. But even in this situation the spiritual blessings of which the Church is the channel - the 'moystning shower' - can still work to bring life to dry soules. Similarly the apparent banalities of proverbial language may mask theological concepts:

Shunx<sup>i</sup> delaies, they breede remorse:  
Take thy time, while time doth serve thee,  
Creeping Snailles have weakest force;  
Flie their fault least thou repent thee:  
( 'Losse in Delaies', 11.1-4)

Southwell means remorse for sin here, not just prudential regret for procrastination. Or, to put it another way, what is advised to be undertaken without delay is the saving of one's soul. One of the best known commonplaces of Elizabethan and Classical literature is applied to the situation of the Catholic surrounded by insidious temptations and pressures to compromise with the Anglican authorities:

Droppes doe pearse the stubborne flint,  
Not by force but often falling:  
Custome kils with feeble dint,  
(11.31-33)

Again one notes the subtle adaptation of the commonplace to make it almost a covert means of addressing Catholics. 'Often falling'

punningly refers to the frequent 'lapses' of those Catholics who compromised with the government, perhaps by attending Anglican services. Such 'custom' threatens not only the soul of the offending Catholic but also the 'stubborn' rock of the Church itself.

Whether there is an argument intended by the placing of these two poems is not clear. One could see the emphasis on the instability of the world, which is nevertheless controlled by God, as holding out both the hope of a revival in Catholic fortunes and as explaining God's reason for allowing Catholics to suffer. Thus the line "The net that holds no great, takes little fish", implies a sorting of the 'great' who abandon the Church in its need and the 'little' who keep faith and indeed continue to be caught by the missionary net. The trouble of the Church then may be a test preliminary to a judgement of Divine Justice against those who have apostasised; and hence an inducement to a rapid return to the faith which is the subject of 'Loss in Delaies'.

However, the unity of the next group of three poems in dispraise of profane love is not in doubt, although their placing here occasions some repetition of subject-matter treated in the previous section. Their place in the argument, however, is clear. Three poems in dispraise of profane love and one poem in dispraise of Fortune condemn the main obstacles to virtuous Christian life. They are followed by two poems in praise of a 'mean estate' as the best context for the Christian life. The first of these might be seen as making the argument of this part of the sequence explicit by referring back to the topics of profane love and Fortune:

To beauties fading blisse I am no thrall:  
I bury not my thoughts in metall mynes,  
I aime not at such fame, as feareth fal,  
I seeke and find a light that ever shines:  
( 'From Fortunes Reach', ll.13-16)

Instead of the usual stoic attitudes of such pieces there are

substituted clearly Christian values of faith, hope, and charity:

I dwell in graces court,  
Enrichde with vertues right;  
Faithe, guides my wit: love, leades my will:  
Hope, all my minde delights.  
( 'Content and Rich', 11.1-4)

This penultimate poem of the whole sequence might be seen as marking the climax of the group of poems to which it belongs, much as 'Looke Home' in the previous group.

The final poem of the group, 'Scorne not the Least', reverts to the proverbial wisdom with which it had opened in 'Times Goe by Turnes'. In fact, 'Scorne not the Least' is very similar in metre, construction, and import to the former poem:

While Pike doth range, the silly Tench doth flie  
And crouch in privie creekes, with smaller fish:  
Yet Pikes are caught when little fish goe bie:  
These, fleet aflote; while those, doe fill the dish.  
There is a time even for the worme to creepe:  
And sucke the dew while all her foes doe sleepe.  
( 'Scorne not the Least', 11.7-12)

The poem completes the hierarchical progress of the sequence from highest to lowest; from Christ to the humble worm of common humanity. Yet this descent contains a paradox for the 'worm' was a figure for the humility of Christ and the Church. The image identifies the sufferings of persecuted Catholics with the suffering of Christ; as does the phrase "soriest wight" in 'Times Goe by Turnes', which recurs in 'Saint Peters Complaint' where it is more obviously an adaptation of Old Testament prophecies of the 'man of sorrows'. This is a particularly appropriate point at which to end the sequence, identifying the present position of Catholics with the Passion and looking to an imminent resurrection both in the fortunes of the Church and in the lives of contemporary potential martyrs about to be translated to the glory of heaven and to take their place in the sequence of saints and martyrs - Peter, Mary Magdalen, Mary Queen of

Scots, the Catholic peer - celebrated earlier in the sequence.

## Chapter IV

### The 'System' of Southwell's Poetry

#### 1.0

##### Introduction.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the 'literary system' of Southwell's poetry. In the first place, of course, this is the Renaissance literary system which may, without inaccuracy, be described as neo-classical. Its outstanding theoretician is Scaliger who could be said to have established the rules for genre, style, and subject-matter within which poets wrote for two hundred years; that is, till the latter part of the eighteenth century. For any poet of this period an understanding of Scaligerian poetics, in Fowler's phrase "competence in the conventions", is a necessary pre-requisite of full understanding and appreciation.(1) The system of Southwell's poetry is, then, that of his time; but it is also his own, since however strictly governed by the conventions of poetry, any two poets operating within the same sets of conventions will produce work as unique and individual as a thumb-print. Each writer, for example, imposes on the standard Latin hexameter an individual prosodic signature.

But there is more involved in saying that Southwell's poetic system is peculiarly his own. Bradner observes that:

Even in the Renaissance, when the doctrine of imitation was at its height, poets can easily be found...expressing their own feelings or interests in their Latin verse.(2)

and Pierre Laurens, the chief editor of the best anthology and study of Renaissance Neo-Latin poetry, Musae Reduces, dwells on its self-revelatory character; the extent to which it is a medium of autobiography, personal opinion, self-portraiture, psychological self-analysis, and expression of the writer's deepest spiritual life.(3)

The resolution of this apparent contradiction lies, I believe, in the ethos of Humanism, derived in part from study of classical authors, which encouraged the cultivation of individual personality within the bounds of strictly defined correct behaviour. This has important implications. It means that while Southwell's poetry is governed by the external frame of conventions of Renaissance literature, it is also permissible to read it as a presentation of the literary personality of the man.

Such a position may seem neither flesh nor fowl, neither realist nor formalist; but it is, I would argue, soundly based on the double character of Renaissance poetry as both conventional and personal. It implies that one should be wary of the naive realism of Grosart, who assumed that Southwell's poetry had been written in prison because some poems refer to the speaker as suffering imprisonment.(4) On the other hand it implies that one should be equally wary of a formalist approach which assumes that because a subject was a standard poetic topic it has no reference to Southwell's life.



Unity and diversity in Renaissance poetics

From one point of view to speak of the literary system of the Renaissance is accurate. From another it is a wild over-simplification. Essentially, the problem is one of scale and adjustment of perspective.

Croll speaks of "the universal study of rhetoric" and Tuve's Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery upholds "the contention that there were no major shifts in aesthetic during the period treated".(5) The source of the unity that Tuve finds in English poetry of the period lies in Renaissance structures of thought and particularly in a common poetics; what Croll means by "the universal study of rhetoric".

Other writers, however, have emphasised the diverse and transitional character of Renaissance literature. Huizinga, for example, sees the Renaissance as presenting very much a spectacle of diversity, change, and intermixture of cultural elements:

Anyone seeking in it a total unity of spirit capable of being stated in a simple formula will never be able to understand it in all its expressions. Above all, one must be prepared to accept it in its complexity, its heterogeneity, and its contradictions, and to apply a pluralistic approach to the questions it poses. Whoever casts out a single schema as a net to capture this Proteus will only catch himself in the meshes.(6)

The great German scholar Ernst Curtius, whose work is the starting point for many of the most fruitful recent developments in literary studies, indicates how the dilemma should be resolved. He demonstrates the presence in European literature of "identical structural elements", "expressional constants", "common denominators" which indicate "a general and generally disseminated theory and practice of literary expression" one of whose chief components is the study of rhetoric.(7) This over-arching unity accommodates the

diversity and dynamism in literature produced by "the crossing of styles, genres, and traditions".(8)

There seems to be powerful support for the view that an attempt to analyse the Renaissance literary system as it is exemplified in any particular period, country, or writer would involve an account of the interaction of various streams within the broader unity. This interaction which is responsible for the diversity and volatility of Renaissance style would require to be seen not synchronically as in Tuve's account which flattens the picture, equating Elizabethan and Jacobean poetic styles, but diachronically so as to account for the dynamic process of change and diversification. Such an historical analysis, one would argue, would be a better method of defining what Wylie Sypher has called "the mechanisms of a changing renaissance style" than Sypher's own method of seeking analogies between literary and art history.(9)

The pattern sketched here for Renaissance literature, of a broad unity of theory and practice accommodating great diversity and rapid transformations of literary fashion, is peculiarly applicable to the work of Robert Southwell. He wrote in two languages, Neo-Latin and English; and while there is a broad equivalence between his Latin and English poetry, there is equally a transformation of all the elements of the Latin poetry on their passage into the vernacular. Similarly, his English poetry displays at least two distinct styles which represent almost distinct poetic systems, being as far from each other as the Latin poetry is from the English poetry in general.

It is worth pointing out that this broad equivalence is not simply the result of the influence of Latin poetry and poetics on the vernacular literatures, though this is largely the case. Latin was also a modern language alongside the vernaculars and was open to influences from vernacular literature. Southwell's small epic 'Poema de assumptione B.V.M.' shows the influence of Tasso in its description

of the debate in hell, while the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies' shows equally clearly the influence of Petrarchan neo-platonic love poetry. In general Southwell's handling of the Latin elegy reflects the corresponding vernacular genre of 'complaint', which in turn was shaped by the Mediaeval and Renaissance perception of classical elegy, particularly in the poetry of Ovid.

The situation extends far beyond Southwell. The cultivation, for example, of the Latin epigram in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth, not only reinforced, but was also in turn reinforced by, the cultivation of comparable genres (ie. the sonnet, and witty shorter poem) in the vernacular.

### 3.0

#### The relation of Southwell's Latin and English poetry

Let us survey the relationship of the English and Latin poetry. The two longer Latin poems both have parallels with the long English poem, 'Saint Peters Complaint', which will be discussed separately. The rest of the Latin poetry consists of a formal and an informal sequence, foreshadowing the pattern of the English poetry which consists of an informl sequence containing one formal sequence.

Leaving aside the small epic 'Poema de assumptione B.<sup>M</sup>.V.' the generic groupings of the Latin poetry correspond approximately to those of the English poems. Thus the Latin poems may be broadly divided into elegiac and epigrammatic. Within the elegiac poems there is a great deal of diversity both in the English and the Latin since it is in both languages the main genre, accommodating a large range of sub-genres and styles.

One uses the phrase 'broad equivalence' advisedly, for Southwell is not one of those poets who wrote, as it were, concurrently in Latin and English producing two versions of the same poem, though he did

this on one occasion. (The French poet de Billy, and the Englishman Watson are contemporary examples of this pattern.)(10) Rather, it is almost certainly the case that his Latin and English poems belong to different phases of literary activity, possibly divided by a fallow period. He did not set out in his English poetry to repeat what he had done in Latin. In the same way that his Latin poetry had been imitative, so in his English poetry he set out to imitate and emulate English models, subjecting himself to the generic, stylistic, and metrical systems that he found in English.

Hence I propose to treat the English poetry in two stages. The first stage (which might be described as a 'synchronic' approach) will be to examine the relationship between the Latin and English poetry to establish their common features. The second stage (a 'diachronic' approach) will set the English poetry against the background of changing contemporary poetic fashions and attempt to place the English poetry in an historical perspective.

The process of transmission and transformation between the Latin and English poetry can be illustrated by a survey of the main elements of subject-matter and style common to both sets of poems. The most satisfactory way to present such a survey is by taking the Latin poems in the order in which they are treated in our second chapter and tracing echoes and parallels in the English poetry. While such a procedure is to some extent mechanical and arbitrary, it is thorough and accountable, and offers the possibility of establishing an agreed body of evidence on which to base conclusions. In effect we will be cross-referencing the Latin and English poetry. The effect of such cross-referencing should be to throw into relief recurrent features of Southwell's poetry which represent his personal version of the Renaissance system of poetry; in other words, his individual poetic personality.

#### The Fragment of a Series of Elegies

The 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies' consists of one intact and two fragmentary elegiac poems on the death of a Queen Margaret; presumably Margaret of France, wife of the ruler of Savoy. The first describes the universal grief - of West and East, Nature and Man - that attends her death. The second is a dramatic monologue spoken by her husband in which he expresses the belief that himself and his wife are really one, and that until he is re-united with her 'above' his mortal life will be a living death. The third is a dramatic monologue in which the dead queen addresses her court, instructing them not to mourn her death and giving them a lecture on the vanity of worldly goods: honours, wealth, and love.

It is worth pointing out that the several elements of these poems, whose recurrence we shall trace in the English poems, are found together here in what is virtually a single work. This is a not altogether misleading index of the relation of the long and the short poem. From one point of view the Renaissance long poem might be seen as a composite or compendium of set pieces - descriptions, speeches, reflective or moralistic passages - which could stand as short poems in their own right. Recognition of this fact, that shorter poems are potentially members of a larger unity, lies behind the arrangement of Southwell's shorter poems into a coherent sequence. The same fact underpins our attempt to expose the system of Southwell's poetry by tracing the inter-connection of its elements.

The first of the series of Elegies (which is presumably number seven although its opening lines including its title are missing) is chiefly notable for its train of hyperbolical conceits expressing the grief of the whole world for the death of Margaret. In particular, two related conceits, that Margaret is the life and the light of the world, have close parallels in 'The Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ', where Mary is described as the source of light of the world and the mother of all life. Some of the relevant lines of the latin

poem are:

Omnis in hoc obitu scilicet annus obit.  
Ecce jacet fuis gens Castellana manipulis,  
Hoc tumulo vires perdidit, atque viros.  
(ll. 13-15)

[The whole year itself passes away in her setting.  
See where the exhausted bands of the Castilian people lie,  
In this grave it has lost its strength and its men.]

Ortus in occasum Margaritis omnis abit.  
(l. 25)

[All rising sets in the death of Margaret.]

Non doleam? mea vita fugit, mea Margareta!  
Hoc solo steterat nomine vita mihi.  
Non doleam? sensus animaeque evanuit ardor!  
Quis poterit vitae jam superesse calor?  
(ll. 36-39)

[Should I not grieve? My life departs, my Margaret,  
My life depended on this single name.  
Should I not grieve? The flame of her sense and spirit has gone out.  
What warmth can now remain in life?]

The corresponding lines in the English poems are:

Joy in the rising of our Orient starre,  
That shall bring forth the Sunne that lent her light...  
(*'Her Nativity'*, ll.1-2)

Alas our day is forst to flie by night,  
(*'The Flight into Egypt'*, l.1)

Weepe living thinges, of life the mother dyes,  
The world doth loose the summe of all her blisse,  
The Quene of Earth, the Empresse of the skyes,  
By maryes death mankind an orphan is,  
Lett nature weepe, yea lett all graces mone,  
Their glory, grace, and giftes dye all in one.  
(*'The Death of our Ladie'*, ll.1-6)

One recalls Ben Jonson's comment on Donne's *'Anniversaries'* that it was "profane and full of Blasphemies" and that had they been "written of the Virgin Marie it had been something".(11) It is possible that he had in mind this poem in which Mary is regarded as a 'world soul' whose migration to heaven leaves a situation of universal bereavement and grief. While apparently just, Jonson's comment is a little disingenuous for such hyperboles originated in Petrarchan love poetry,

and received their philosophical cast from the influence of Neoplatonism. Not only is Southwell's 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies' an expression of this tradition, but its amatory and even erotic character is retained in his English religious poetry. As we shall see the phrase describing Mary as "the summ of all her [earth's] blisse" is an expression of one of Southwell's key concepts which draws together typological, philosophical, and amatory and erotic elements.

Elegia VIII, the only poem of the sequence to have survived intact, purports to express the husband's love for Margaret, his grief at her death, and his desire to die in order to be united with her above. The doctrine of love it expresses, transformed to describe the divine love between Christ and the soul, is influential in a number of 'spiritual' love poems among the English work, chief of which are 'Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death', 'Lifes Death Loves Life', and 'At Home in Heaven'. The poems cited are among the finest of the English work. Martz justly celebrates 'Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death' as "blending...all the best devices of the late Elizabethan love-song...as Thomas Morley recognized by setting three stanzas of the poem to one of his finest airs".(12) One would suggest, however, that the success of the poem is largely a matter of prosody, of mastery of English lyrical metre, and that in other respects the poem adds little or nothing to what is already present in the Latin poem:

With my love, my life was nestled  
 In the sonne of happinesse:  
 From my love, my life is wrested  
 To a world of heaviness<sup>2</sup>,  
 O, let love my life remove,  
 Sith I live not where I love.  
 (11.25-30)

Martz's description of the poem as parody is misleading since the matter of the poem is a long-standing part of Southwell's repertoire

rather than being derived from contemporary English poetry. Love poetry such as this was the authentic medium of his religious feelings, since religious devotion was the channel into which he displaced his amatory and erotic feelings. Martz's attempt to read the poem as a meditation is also forced and unconvincing.

Southwell achieves a similar success in the more epigrammatic 'Lifes Death Loves Life', though the ingeniously reiterated word-plays and paradoxes are less likely to please a modern reader:

Who lives in love, loves least to live,  
And long delaies doth rue:  
If him he love by whom he lives,  
To whom all love is due.  
(ll.1-4)

The third poem, 'At Home in Heaven', is another fine poem in which love of God, and desire for death are expressed obliquely in an eloquent and impassioned apostrophe to the soul:

Faire soule, how long shall veyles thy graces shroud?  
How long shall this exile with-hold thy right?  
When will the sunne disperse this mortall cloud,  
And give thy gloryes scope to blaze their light?  
(ll.1-4)

Such apostrophe is a feature of the genre of elegy and Martz's attempt to explain it in terms of Ignatian meditation is literally far-fetched in view of the poetic explanation close at hand.

In Elegia IX, the fragment which follows, the dead queen addresses her courtiers. It is significant that she addresses them as 'inclytus ordo' - noble order - a phrase which can refer to orders of chivalry, or to religious orders. Use of the phrase in this context brings into play the analogies between secular and spiritual structures. If the courtiers were to follow her teaching, their secular devotion to a Queen would turn into spiritual devotion to a Saint, they would remain courtiers but in a heavenly court and members of a religious rather than secular order.



The transformation of 'court' or 'aulic' poetry from a secular to a religious end is a feature of much of Southwell's poetry. In its most general terms, it is relevant to the adaptation of the forms and language of court poetry for religious poems. The 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies' is itself an example of this, since it is a poem of hyperbolic praise of an earthly Queen which is translated by the facts of her death and holiness into praise of a Saint. The pattern holds for much of the English poetry which was modelled on court poetry. The analogy, however, is also explicit. The poet is a courtier in a heavenly court, and the effect is either explicitly or implicitly to condemn the secular court. For example, in 'Saint Peters Complaint' the secular court is identified with the court of hell.

O John my guide into this earthly hell,  
 Too well acquainted in so ill a court,  
 Where rayling mouthes with blasphemies did swell,  
 With taint~~ed~~ breath infecting all resort.  
 Why didst thou lead me to this hell of ~~divels~~ evils:  
 To shew my selfe a feind among the divels? (11.229-234)

On the other hand, the Christian who serves his true monarch, despising the vain honours, wealth and love that the worldly court has to offer, is a courtier of the heavenly court rewarded with true honour, wealth, and the pleasure of love:

I dwell in graces courte,  
 Enrichde with vertues rights:  
 Faithe, guides my wit: love, leades my will:  
 Hope, all my minde delights.

In lowlie vales I mounte  
 To pleasures highest pich:  
 My seely shrowde true honor bringes,  
 My poor estate is rich.  
 ('Content and rich', 11.1-8)

More specifically, Elegia IX has analogies with a diverse group of the English poems and shows how closely interconnected their themes are. The poem 'Decease Release' which is put in the mouth of the executed Queen of Scots has a number of parallels with the Latin poem

(which may have led Grosart to identify the Margaret of that poem as Mary). As in the Latin poem, the saint rejoices in her new life and asks her friends not to mourn for her:

Alive a Queene, now dead I am a Sainte,  
Once N: calld, my name nowe Martyr<sup>e</sup> is,  
From earthly raigne debarred by restraint,  
In lieu whereof I raigne in heavenly blisse.  
.  
Rue not my death, rejoyce at my repose,  
It was no death to me but to my woe,  
(11.13-16, 25-26)

In the Latin poem the deceased queen gives her courtiers a lecture on the vanity of worldly honour, wealth, and love - this latter being particularly emphasised:

Vana Venus; caecae sunt irritamina culpae,  
Dementis mentis toxica; vana Venus.  
Fallacem faciem cerussat amaror amoris,  
Dum mala proponit mala venusta Venus.  
(11.19-22)

[Venus is vanity; they are incitements to dark crimes,  
Poisons of a demented mind; Venus is vanity.  
Bitter love paints white her deceiving face,  
As charming Venus proffers her evil apples.]

The attack on worldly ambition, wealth, and love is the complementary other face of the exaltation of divine love. The pattern is repeated in the English poems in a number of poems which dispraise 'fortune' and 'lewd love', and which represent a significant proportion of his work. As in the Latin poem, the dispraise of lewd love is given special emphasis as can be seen from the titles of the main group of relevant poems: 'Loves Servile Lot', 'Lewd Love is Losse', 'Loves Garden Grief', 'Fortunes Falsehoode', and 'From Fortunes Reach'. In this latter poem (and elsewhere in Southwell's poetry, for example, in 'Content and rich'), the three 'vanities' - honour, wealth, and love - are brought together as in the Latin poem:

To beauties fading blisse I am no thrall:  
I bury not my thought in mettall mynes,  
I aime not at such fame, as feareth fal,

The spiritual alternative which is set against them is seen in terms that might be described as spiritual eroticism:

I seeke and find a light that ever shines:  
Whose glorious beames display such heavenly sightes,  
As yeeld my soule the summe of all delights.  
(11.16-18)

The ramifications of the recurrent topic of 'the sum of beauty and delight' are explored in our comments on the 'Poema de assumptione B.V.M.'..

Poema de assumptione B.M.V.

In this poem Southwell touches on a complex of ideas which recur in the English poems in very similar terms but in different generic and stylistic contexts. These are the related ideas of God as opifex or maker, and, variously, of man, Mary, Christ, and Eden as microcosms of the cosmos and sums of all beauties and delights. The relevant lines in the Latin poem are:

...primosque parentes  
Cunctarum format veluti compendia rerum.  
Hos orbis statuit dominos, atque omnibus ornans  
Deliciis, sacra paradisi in sede locavit.  
(11.5-8)

[...and formed our first parents  
As a microcosm of all things.  
He appointed them Lords of the earth, and adorning  
Them with all that is delightful, placed them in the sacred home of Eden,  
  
Quicquid in immenso pulchri diffunditur orbe,  
Et sparsum solumque alias aliasque per oras  
Cernitur, hoc uno totum concluditur horto.  
(11.25-27)

[Whatever of beauty is spread through the immense world,  
Separated and solitary through many and various regions,  
Here in a sum is contained in a single garden.]

The ambiguous grammatical relation of the phrase 'omnibus ornans/Deliciis,' which can refer either to Adam and Eve or to

Paradise, points to the wide applicability of the concept. It refers to Christ as the antitype of Man, and to heaven as the antitype of Eden. Moreover, echoes of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, which contains the supposed prophesy of the Incarnation, make it clear that the garden as a microcosm of the world and a sum of all beauty and delight is specifically intended as a typical figure for the Virgin. These typological relations may be traced through the numerous echoes of these passages in the English poems. He writes of the Virgin Mary:

Both Grace and Nature did their force unite,  
To make this babe the summe of all their best,  
( 'The Virgin Maries Conception', ll.7-8))

of the Eucharist (which is the presence of Christ):

In summ here is all in a summ expressd,  
Of much the most, of every good the best.

What god as auctour made he alter may...  
( 'Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter', ll.29-30, 85)

of the human soul,

Mans mind a myrrour is of heavenly sights,  
A breefe wherein all marvailles summed lye.  
Of fayrest formes, and sweetest shapes the store,  
Most gracefull all, yet thought may grace them more.  
( 'Looke Home', ll.1-4)

In 'From Fortunes Reach' the sum of delight is seen as the fulfillment of love in heaven:

I seeke and find a light that ever shines:  
Whose glorious beames display such heavenly sightes,  
As yeeld my soule the summe of all delights.  
( 'From Fortunes reach', ll.16-18)

This passage, cited also in our comments of the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies, combines two important elements in Southwell's thought: that of the microcosm which is a sum of beauty and delight; and that of the amatory character of the relation of God and Man.

With hauty minde to godhead man aspirde,  
And was by pride from place of pleasure chac'de,  
With loving minde our manhood God desired,  
And us by love in greater pleasure plac'de,  
( 'The Virgins Salutation', 11.13-16)

The different elements come together in the description of Christ - or rather of his eyes - in 'Saint Peters Complaint':

O gracious spheres, where love the Center is,  
O little worldes, the summes of all the best,  
All but one compound framde of perfect blisse.  
(11.403, 409, 420)

Here the three strands - of God as maker, Christ as microcosm and sum of the best, and of this microcosmic sum as the location of amatory and erotic fulfilment - are brought into conjunction. The correspondence of divine and human art and artefacts is also implicitly demonstrated in Southwell's placing of this cosmic centre, "where love the Center is", at the centre of his poem where it forms, as it were, a Paradise in the midst of a purgatorial vale of tears.

The description of Eden - the archetypal sum of all beauties and delights - has its converse in the poem's description of Hell which, as one would expect, is a place devoid of beauty and delight. Such a location is the necessary complement of the sum of beauty and delight, and in various forms is as recurrent an element of his poetry as the sum of beauty.

The English poem in which he gives the fullest treatment of this location, 'A Vale of Teares', shows marked similarities to the Latin passage in which he describes hell. The Latin begins with the formulaic 'Est...' (a variation on 'Locus est...') which traditionally introduced ecphrastic set-piece descriptions using the present tense, and the same formula ('A vale there is...') introduces the English poem. In addition to this common element - which is found only in these two poems - both poems describe dreadful, dark, rocky,

torrential places:

Est vastum scabris sinuosum anfractibus antrum,  
Solis inaccessum radiis, fundoque dehiscens,  
Et ruptas reserans immani horrore cavernas.  
Propatulo hic fluvius surgit Lethaeus hiatu,  
Ingentique ruens per concava saxa fragore,  
Praecipitante rotat limosa volumina cursu,  
Et dirum aggeribus spumans fremit unda repertis.  
(11.58-64)

[A cave there is, vast, windy, with rough and tortuous folds,  
Cut-off from the sun's rays, with a gaping floor,  
opening into broken caverns full of monstrous horror.  
Here the river Lethe rises from an open cleft  
and, rushing with mighty thunder through the vaulted rock,  
rolls volumes of slime in its headlong course,  
and the foaming water roars dire things to the confining banks.]

A vale there is enwrapt with dreadfull shades,  
Which thicke of mourning pines shrouds from the sunne,  
Where hanging clifts yeld short and dumpish glades,  
And snowie floud with broken streames doth runne,

Where eie-roume is from rockes to cloudie skie,  
From thence to dales with stonie ruines strow'd,  
Then to the crushed waters frothie frie,  
Which tumbleth from the tops where snow is thow'd:  
(11.1-8)

Janelle finds the poem

incredibly modern...not unlike some of Wordsworth's poems  
in its association of the high thoughts of a pure and  
loving soul with the aerial solitude of the high  
hills...(13)

This is to misread it. While it is unique among Southwell's English poetry in the rich concreteness of its description, it exemplifies Renaissance practice in creating an allegorical setting for a spiritual state (purgation), and a mood (of remorse). Admittedly, 'nature' is prominent in the poem, but that is precisely why the vale is dreadful; because it is natural, "of arte untoucht". One of the common features of the sums of beauty and bliss is that they are framed by divine art. Even the garden of Eden is an artefact, heaven is a city, and Man and Christ are 'framed'. It is the absence of art, as well as beauty and bliss, which is characteristic of hell and purgatory.

While the vale is not Hell, it is close to it. Hell and purgatory have their corresponding spiritual states in the world. A soul in a state of mortal sin is in a state corresponding to hell, though he has the option of escape denied to the finally damned. Peter is in such a state in the palace courtyard before the cock crows. When he repents and begins to pay the penalty for his sin, he passes into a state of purgatory. Mortification takes on a vivid literalness as Peter chooses a tomb as his place of purgation:

Heere solitary muses nurse my griefes,  
In silent lonesse burying worldly noyse,  
Attentive to rebukes, deafe to reliefs,  
Pensive to foster cares, carelesse of joyes:  
Ruing lifes losse under deathes dreary roofes,  
Solemnizing my funerall behoofes.  
( 'Saint Peters Complaint', ll.739-744)

The goal of living a mortified life - completing one's purgatory in one's mortal life - is to ensure as far as possible that death shall be the entrance into the sum of bliss.

Arguably, there are elements other than the strictly orthodox and doctrinal involved in Southwell's account of the progress of the soul. In the 'spiritual love poems' life is a living death, a solitary mortification, because of the death of the beloved. In addition there is the notion of exile or orphanhood which is found scattered throughout the English poems, and is most powerfully expressed in the Latin 'Epistola', which combines the character of biography and religious parable. It seems that he translated his personal experience into religious terms, turning his homesick exile from home and family into exile from God and desire to return to heavenly bliss. I say 'return' advisedly, because there are several indications that Southwell was inclined to interpret the Fall of man as birth from a previous state of bliss into the misery of the world:

Disankerd from a blisfull shore,  
And lancht into a maine of cares  
( 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke', ll.1-2)

This parallels Christ's progress in the Incarnation "from the ranckes of heaven'ly quires,/ Into this vale of teares and cursed soyle" ('At Home in Heaven', ll.19-20), which suggests that Southwell tended to think of the Fall as birth into the world.

Janelle believes Southwell was influenced by the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul, evidenced by its recollection of former bliss and its desire to return to its former state. Despite Scallon's objection to the attribution of such influence, one believes that its presence is virtually beyond doubt.(14)

Filii prodigi porcos pascentis ad patrem epistola.

It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of this poem as establishing a pattern for a large part of the English poetry. Its significance goes beyond the group of poems which share its concerns and echo its subject-matter and structure. The pathos and pain of orphanhood, exile, loneliness, and abandonment in a hostile world colour a great deal of Southwell's poetry:

In eaves, sole Sparowe sits not more alone,  
Nor mourning Pellican in Desert wilde:  
Then silly I, that solitary mone,  
    ↑ From highest hopes to hardest hap exile:      ↑  
    ('Davids Peccavi', ll.1-4)

Left orphan like in helplesse state I rue,  
With onely sighes and teares I pleade my case,  
    ('I Dye without Desert', ll.13-14)

This underlying unhappiness of exile and orphanhood is turned to account by Southwell's unconvincing attribution of exile to sin for which his tears, become tears of remorse, may atone:

Let teares to tunes, and paines to plaints be prest,  
And let this be the burden of thy song,  
Come deepe remorse, possesse my sinfull brest:  
Delights adue, I harbourd you too long.  
    ('A Vale of Teares', ll.72-76)



More specifically, the 'Epistola' establishes a pattern for a number of English poems which consist of expressions of remorse and petitions for mercy.

The poem is a remorseful plea for paternal forgiveness in which the son traces the sequence of his fall from grace, his infection with the disease of sin which makes him a lost soul, as it were, in a state of hell. It is implied that the medicine for his 'disease' is penitence, and the latter half of the poem charts his recovery of spiritual health as he confesses and repents his sin, and is filled with love and desire to be re-united with his father. Although at the end he is not explicitly hopeful - that would be presumptuous - the reader knows that his prayer will be answered. Four of the English poems in particular show marked similarities of subject-matter and structure to the 'Epistola': the two related poems 'S.Peters Afflicted Minde' and 'S.Peters Remorse'; 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke'; and the long 'Saint Peters Complaint'.

The first three of these poems are treated by Janelle as furthest removed from the influence of the Latin poetry. He suggests that whereas in much of the English poetry "the poet's inspiration remains the same as in the latin pieces...now...the change is sudden and complete...we feel we are at last face to face with all that is most earnest and sincere, deepest and most intimate in the poet's nature, while this impression is confirmed by his entire discarding of the Saint Peter [six-line] stanza, and his choice of new, simpler, more popular metrical forms".(15)

In fact, of all the English poems, these reflect most closely the sense and structure of the Latin poem. They are stripped and reduced versions of the 'Epistola', reproducing its essential features in a barer form. Thus to take 'S.Peters Afflicted Mind' and 'S.Peters Remorse' first. The first of these is the lament of someone who is sick, orphaned, wounded, and a prisoner on account of sin. In the

companion poem, this lost wretch petitions God for relief, and the terms and arguments used recall the corresponding petition of the Latin poem:

Let penance Lorde prevaile,  
Let sorrow sue release,  
Let love be umpier in my cause,  
And passe the doome of peace.  
. . .  
Thou first wert author of my selfe...

.  
Wert thou a father to conclude  
With dreadfull Judges doome?

Once to have beene in blisse  
That hardly can returne,  
Doth but bewray from whence I fell,  
And wherefore now I mourne.  
(*'S. Peters Remorse'*, ll. 5-8, 31, 35-36, 45-48)

The historical circumstantial detail of the Latin poem has been discarded. The poem concentrates on its spiritual and allegorical sense of the disease of sin and its cure through reconciliation with God. There is a gain of concentration and didactic point over the Latin poem, but it is obtained at the price of an impoverishment of metrical form, language, and sense. The poem is, to use C.S. Lewis's term, 'drab', and much the same judgement might be given of *'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke'*.

*'Saint Peters Complaint'* will be discussed at length in a subsequent chapter and one's relevant conclusions will be given here in summary form. The poem shares the purgatorial pattern of the *'Epistola'*, but enriched and interestingly transformed. That complex of features that may be referred to as 'the sum of beauty which is also the fulfilment of love' enters the poem and, as it were, forms a Paradise at the centre, thus integrating aspects of Southwell's poetry found separately in the rest of the poetry. Moreover, we noted a correlation between bliss and art, and between purgatory and lack of art. *'Saint Peters Complaint'* is written in Southwell's most embroidered manner and is very far from being "untoucht by art".

### The Latin informal sequence

The final group of four Latin poems represents a more committed attitude to the religious life. They belong to the period after Southwell had made his first vows as a Jesuit - one of the poems is on the subject of the renewal of his vows.

Three of the four poems are prayers, and the group as a whole is headed by the brief prayer or invocation, 'Jesus. Marye.'. They mark a shift from the public, academic, and literary character of the earlier poems to poetry of a more personal and devotional character. The earlier poems had treated public subjects, and had to a greater or a lesser extent been narrative and dramatic. Where the first person is used it refers quite clearly to someone other than Southwell. These later poems, however, are characterised by direct address to God by Southwell himself rather than a literary persona.

This intensification of commitment to the religious life and the formal features which express it are highly relevant to the English poetry, a large part of which is devotional in the sense of being a medium for prayer and meditation.

It is significant that the related poems 'S.Peters Afflicted Minde' and 'S.Peters Remorse' differ from the corresponding Latin poem in their use of the first person and direct address to God. One would argue that the change in the poem is in part the result of its translation into a first person devotional poem.

Other meditative prayer poems in English show this characteristic structure, for example, 'Sinnes Heavie Loade':

O Lord my sinne doth over-charge thy brest,  
The poyse thereof doth force thy knees to bow;  
(ll.1-2)

Though the parallel is remote, this poem addresses a suffering Christ who can see into the heart of the suppliant as in the poem 'Ad deum in afflictione':

Tu tacitas nosti lacrimas tu saucia cernis  
Pectora secreto quod cremer igne vides  
(11.1-2)

[You have known silent tears, you discern my wounded heart  
Which you see burning with a secret fire.]

There is an important difference, however, in that where in the earlier poem the poet requests relief for his sufferings, in the later poem he requests help in overcoming his sinful nature and begs for forgiveness of his sins. Although there does remain a trace of the amatory language of the Latin poem in the closing couplet:

O prostrate Christ, erect my crooked minde,  
Lord let thy fall my flight from earth obtaine;  
Or if I still in earth must needes be shrinde,  
Then Lord on earth come fall yet once againe:  
And eyther yeeld with me in earth to lie,  
Or else with thee to take me to the skie.  
(11.37-42)

in the main the English poems of prayer and meditation eschew the amatory language of the Latin poems. This can be illustrated by 'Christs Bloody Sweat' which has some resemblance to the Latin poem 'In festum pentecostes, anno domini 1580, 21 maii'. Both poems are petitions for Pentecostal inspiration and both poems show a very unusual shift of generic register which in both cases is likely to be deliberately contrived and to have a symbolic value. In the case of the Latin poem it is a shift from the epic style of Christ's entry into Heaven,

Postquam tartarei spoliis ditatus Averni  
Vi propria superas Christus rediisset ad auras  
(11.1-2)

[When, loaded with the spoils of Tartarean Avernus,  
By his own strength Christ had returned to the upper regions...]

to the elegiac complaint of man seeking relief from his sufferings:

solus miser incola terrae  
Angustam patitur sortem duroque laborum  
Pondere depressus querulo petit ore juvantem  
(11.7-9)

[Alone and wretched the earth-dweller  
Endures a straitened lot, and bowed by the heavy weight of labour,  
Begg - with a plaintive voice - for a helper.]

In the English poem there is a comparable shift from the ornate language of the opening line, "Fat soile, full spring, sweete olive, grape of blisse," to the demotic language of the close, "A sacke of dust, a masse of fleshe and bloode". Despite this correspondence, there could hardly be a more pointed contrast than the prayer for joys amidst the sorrows of the world, of the Latin poem, and the prayer to be made a burnt offering of the English poem. It is as if the frame of the Latin poems had been retained - the elegiac petitions and apostrophes, the direct addresse to Christ in the first person - to be filled with a new subject-matter supplied by meditation on the life of Christ.

4.0

#### Summary of conclusions

In drawing together and summarizing these various cross-references between and within the Latin and English poetry, a pattern emerges of various corresponding and coalescing strands: biographical, literary, philosophical, and religious.

Southwell's life was marked by a double exile from the normal human sources of security, comfort, and happiness: in the first place, exile from his parental home and native land; and in the second place, exile from the garden of human love and sexual fulfilment. In both cases the situation is transformed into platonic and Christian terms: of a recollection of bliss before the Fall, and a longing for death which will end a purgatorial and deathly life with return home and entry into consummate bliss.

The fact of his first exile from home and parents is clear from the bare facts of his autobiography; and it is a short stretch of the

imagination to reading the 'Epistola' as a biographical document. A Classical scholar with whom I read the poem gave as his opinion that it was a pathetic poem expressing the home-sickness of a boy sent overseas for his education.

As to the second exile, from the garden of human love and sexuality, several pieces of evidence suggest that Southwell's natural inclinations led him into amatory relationships with other boys. References in his spiritual note-books, and above all the prose fragment in which he debates the rights and wrongs of such a relationship, point to this conclusion.

Alas! why do I lament his loss that will needs be lost?  
Why do I fasten my affection upon him whose soul I cannot  
aid? Is it a motion of true charity or a passion of fancy?

I seek his spiritual avail and regard not his corporal  
presence, and for this it should seem a virtuous amity.

Yet love I his person and cannot further his profit,  
and in this respect it might seem a sensual liking.

If I persuade myself that God hath given him a lovely  
semblant to the intent he might have the more friends to  
regard his safety, why may I not as well deem that where  
seemly shape is severed from sincerity of manners it is  
rather a spur to perdition than a means to salvation?

Yet, alas, can I deem that a thing as well able to  
entice the good to help him as the bad to hurt and hurt  
him, should be of God rather referred to the second than  
addressed to the first?

Did God beautify his countenance for a means to  
blemish his soul, or did He set a bait in his eyes only to  
win their hearts that would work his harm?

Why should I not rather judge that God would bend by  
His favour good men's inclination unto him, and mark him  
with this amiable cognizance [doubtful reading] that whoso  
viewed his person might desire the like comeliness in his  
soul and think it their duty to procure that he should be  
most like unto God in goodness whom God hath made so like  
unto Him in goodliness?(16)

In his spiritual note-books he describes how this "natural attraction  
towards men" can be forcibly re-directed towards Christ:

If a prince should chance to tear a precious robe upon a nail,  
the craftsman will repair it with such care and diligence that  
far from spoiling the appearance of the robe, the rent will  
even add to its beauty and value. Thus our affections may  
sometimes be drawn by natural attraction to attach themselves  
to this or that person or thing, in such a way that turning  
aside in some degree from the Creator they inordinately cling  
to creatures. But yet if, corresponding with His grace, we

try to turn our affections towards God and overcome for the sake of His love our natural inclinations, our love of Him will not suffer through such natural attraction towards men, but by His grace will become still more pure and strong.(17)

In the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies', albeit written for a specific occasion, Southwell writes with such intensity of the unity of lovers' souls that it seems probable that it reflects his virtuous amity for some young companion lost to him through death or renunciation. In either case his own death by martyrdom would be the only way for him to be re-united with his lover.

Neoplatonism, with its view of life as the soul's exile from its spiritual home to which it longs to reascend, and elegiac poetry with its emphases on regret and desire, would have been significant elements in confirming Southwell's perception and shaping of his life in Christian terms.

5.0

#### The development of the English poetry.

There is one major problem in attempting to give an account of the history of Southwell's English poetry. Broadly speaking, two distinct styles predominate, and the main critical treatments give divergent accounts of which represents both the later, and the better, work.

During his stay in Italy he would have become familiar with contemporary Italian verse. He had echoed Tasso in the 'Poema de Assumptione B.M.V.' and probably attempted translations of Italian poems. Nancy Brown's opinion is that "his reading of Italian verse and prose had greater influence upon his literary taste than his explorations in any other vernacular...".(18) His Latin poetry provides examples of a highly embroidered mannered style. It was these factors that led Janelle to assume that Southwell's embroidered poems reveal the residual influence of Italian and Neo-Latin preciousness, which he shed progressively in England. For the same

reasons Praz attributes 'Saint Peters Complaint' to the Roman period, suggesting that Southwell's more homely compositions were written after his return to England.(19) It is a short step from this construction of the order of composition of the poems to the critical judgement that the later poems represent better work. Thus Janelle says of a group of poems that includes 'S.Peters Afflicted Minde', 'S.Peters Remorse', 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke', and 'A Phansie Turned to a Sinners Complaint', that:

...we feel that we are at last face to face with all that is most earnest and sincere, deepest and most intimate in the poet's nature; while this impression is confirmed by his entire discarding of the Saint Peter stanza, and his choice of new, simpler, more popular metrical forms...it seems hard to imagine that he had undergone no inner change since the time when he *used to revel* in mere verbal quibbles.(20)

Brown's account of approximately the same group of poems is virtually the converse of this:

There are...poems that lack this musical sensitivity and have little stylistic originality...Such poems may be literary exercises to regain facility in writing English; it is to be expected that his first attempts at writing verse on his return to England would be mainly derivative, traditional in metrical forms, perhaps somewhat archaic in language.(21)

The stylistic evidence favours Brown's view rather than that of Janelle and Praz, and one concludes that on his return to England Southwell set himself to imitate English poems which came readily to hand. Increasing fluency in writing English verse, and particularly the iambic pentameter and the six-line stanza, opened the way for an Italianate 'embroidered' style - which poets such as Watson were making fashionable.(22) A strong argument for this view is that it sees Southwell as going with the tide of literary fashion rather than against it: a style close to that of Tottels Miscellany being displaced by one closer to that of Byrd's Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadness and Piety 1588 and of the Phoenix Nest 1593. The opposite



view, held by Praz and Janelle, that Southwell moved from an up-to-date to an archaic style is extremely implausible. (The division of Elizabethan poetic style into earlier and later is, of course, an oversimplification. While the Italianate 'embroidered' style did not become fashionable till the second half of the 1580s, and may properly be described as a later style, the features which I point to as marking the earlier style did not suddenly fade away, but may be found in poetry of the 1590s. Nevertheless, despite this overlapping, the historical sequence of styles is undisputable since the rise of the later 'embroidered' style can be fairly precisely dated.)

Several leading features of the earlier Elizabethan style are present in these poems of Southwell. One is the use of Poulterers' measure which Gascoigne described as "the commonest sort of verse we use now adayes".(23) Southwell has a handfull of poems in this measure - 'S.Peters Afflicted Minde', 'S.Peters Remorse', 'A Phansie Turned to a Sinners Complaint' and 'Content and Rich'. Apart from 'Content and rich', there is a strong presumption that these are among the earliest of Southwell's English poems.

'A Phansie Turned to a Sinners Complaint' is a very close adaptation of Dyer's poem, retaining most of Dyer's text and Christianizing it by numerous minor alterations.(24) Thus he rewrites Dyer's opening stanza

Hee that his mirth hath loste,  
Whose comfort is dismaid,  
Whose hope is vaine, whose faith is scornd,  
Whose trust is all betraid;

as,

Hee that his mirth hath lost,  
Whose comfort is to rue,  
Whose hope is fallen, whose faith is cras'de,  
Whose trust is found untrue:

transferring onto the lover the moral responsibility for his own misfortune or 'fall'. Southwell presents the secular love code that underwrites Dyer's poem as a false faith, and the lover's suffering as the beginning of his regeneration through remorse and penitence. This is most likely to be an early English poetic exercise dating from soon after Southwell's arrival in England in 1585, for the reason that Southwell soon out-distanced Dyer as a poet, and it seems unlikely that he would produce work by such a mechanical method of adaptation when he was capable of better.

A comparable situation obtains in respect of 'S.Peters Afflicted Minde' and 'S.Peters Remorse'. These poems - and one might also add 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke', though it is in octosyllabic quatrains rather than Poulterers' measure - are stripped down adaptations of the Latin 'Epistola'.

An exception is 'Content and Rich'. 'Content and Rich' has been described as an adaptation of Dyer's 'My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is' which it echoes in the stanza

I feele no care of coyne,  
Weldoing is my welth:  
My minde to me an empire is:  
While grace affordeth health.  
(ll.25-28)

However, poems advocating the advantages of a quiet life and mean estate constitute a genre that was encouraged by the poets and theorists of the Jesuit order, and it would seem the case that this is Southwell's attempt in that genre, in which he gathers together, as Martz says, "echoes of the whole tradition" deriving from the Classical examples of Horace and Martial.(25) The writing here has a neatness and grace which corresponds to a humanistic stylistic ideal of 'elegant latinity', a quality that may be illustrated by quotation:

My wishes are but few,  
All easie to fulfill:  
I make the limites of my power,

The boundes unto my will.  
 . . .  
 But when the flame is out  
 And ebbing wrath doth end:  
 I turne a late enraged foe  
 Into a quiet frend.  
 (11.17-20, 41-44)

This is Southwell's best poem in Poulterers' measure, the use of which may perhaps be explained in part by the precedent of Lord Vaux's poem 'Of a Contented Mynde' in the Paradise of Dainty Devices which has a strong "general resemblance" to Southwell's poem.(26)

I think, however, that Southwell's use of this measure is misrepresented as a use of "simpler, more popular metrical forms" (Janelle) or "traditional...metrical forms" (Brown).(27) Apart from two poems in hexameters, all Southwell's Latin poems are in elegiac couplets of alternate hexameters and pentameters. Now Poulterers' measure, with its lengthened second line, could be said to achieve a similar effect of 'closure' - of making the couplet into a self-contained unit, almost a short stanza - to that the elegiac couplet achieves with its shortened second line and rhythmic variation. I would suggest that Southwell was seeking a form analogous to the couplet that was his normal medium in Latin.

Another feature of the earlier Elizabethan style is a metrical system that was becoming archaic in the 1580s. This metre might be described as trochaic or dactylic, though one assumes that its origins lie in Middle English adaptations of Anglo-Saxon accentual metre and that the terminology of classical metre is inappropriate. It may be illustrated by an example from Thomas Vaux whose work Southwell would have known well:

Brittle beewle that nature made so fraile  
 Whe<sup>r</sup>of the gi<sup>f</sup>t is small and short<sup>e</sup> the season  
 Flow<sup>r</sup>inge to day<sup>e</sup> to mor<sup>ow</sup><sup>e</sup> apte to faile  
 Tick<sup>e</sup>ll treasure abhorred of reason (28)

A similar metrical archaism informs Southwell's 'Fortunes Falsehoode':

In worldly meriments lurketh much miserie,  
Slie fortunes subtilties in baites of happinesse  
Shrowde hookes, that swallowed, without recoverie  
Murder the innocent with mortall heavinesse.  
(11.1-4)

Another salient feature of the earlier style are poems consisting of repetitions of a commonplace in a great variety of forms. This was a very common device up to the middle of the 1580's becoming increasingly old-fashioned thereafter. (In Hamlet, for example, the use by Polonius of such a device is seen as absurd.) It can be illustrated by an example from Thomas Churchyard who was among the leading exponents of this style which was becoming old-fashioned in the 1580's:

A little harm doth breed a great mistrust;  
A simple storm makes some on seas full sick;  
A feeble puff of wind does rise up dust;  
A little salve full soon can touch the quick;  
A small attempt makes mighty matters shake;  
A silly spark a sudden fire doth make;  
An easy proof brings hard mishaps to pass  
As this declares where all these mischiefs was.(29)

Three poems by Southwell ('Times Goe by Turnes', 'Losse in Delaies', and 'Scorne not the Least') are constructed on this plan. Southwell's work in this genre is well illustrated by the opening stanza of 'Times Goe by Turnes':

The lopped tree in time may grow againe,  
Most naked plantes renew both fruit and flower:  
The soriest wight may find release of paine,  
The dryest soyle suck in some moystning shower.  
Times goe by turnes, and chaunces chaunge by course:  
From fowle to faire: from better happe, to worse.  
(11.1-6)

The images are selected not merely to illustrate the principle but also to refer to the situation of the Catholic Church and the individual Catholic. The "lopped tree" is the Church. The "soriest wight" (recalling the afflicted man of Lamentations) is the persecuted Catholic whose situation might be eased by a relaxation of

persecution, or by martyrdom. The "dryest soyle" is, punningly, the dryest 'soul'; and the "moystning shower", the life-giving waters of grace that flow from the Church.

In the main the old-fashioned poems represent Southwell's weakest work and are less interesting than the poems in a 'new' Italianate mannered style pioneered by Groto and Tasso. Of many descriptions of this style that might be cited, that of Harvey is typical in which he describes Petrarch as a "precious tablet of rare conceits, and a curious frame of exquisite workmanship".(30) In respect of this style Southwell is less of an innovator than earlier accounts of his career given by Praz, Janelle, and Martz suggest. Philip Sidney, and Thomas Watson clearly antedate Southwell's attempts in this style. It is well developed in Byrd's Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadness and Piety 1588, and it is plausible that it was through contact with Byrd that Southwell was introduced to such poetry and set himself to imitate it in order to please the better class of readers. Certainly the book edited by Byrd contains several poems that have close likenesses to poems of Southwell.

Significantly, there are connections between various literary figures that suggest the existence of a literary milieu to which Southwell belonged. Devlin asserts, though I do not know upon what evidence (unless it be that they had been students at Douai at the same time), that Southwell and Watson were not merely literary acquaintances but intimate friends.(31) Since Watson served as a spy for the Protestant interest, 'friend' seems too strong a word. However, Watson's political activism did not prevent him being friendly with the Catholic Byrd; and Byrd's probable close friendship with Southwell strengthens the case for their being a literary connection, at least, between Watson and Southwell.(32) It is probable that Southwell knew other literary figures such as Thomas Lodge, and had at least a fleeting acquaintance with Gabriel Harvey.(33) The

poetic guiding star of such a milieu could not be any other than Philip Sidney to whom belongs the credit for developing the new style in England. A large part of Byrd's Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs is given over to Elegies for Sidney. The opening poems of the Phoenix Nest are an elegy and two epitaphs for Sidney. Edmund Gosse explains the title of the anthology as an allusion to Sidney:

The idea of the compilers of this anthology was, in my opinion, that although the Phoenix, Poetry, had blazed on the funeral pyre of Sidney, it was reincarnated in the lyrical work of the young men who had taken heart of grace to pursue their art since their hero's death.(34)

Significantly, a prefatory poem to Southwell's Triumphs over Death implies that Southwell is a second Sidney.(35)

The mannered style has until recently been consistently abused by critics, and regarded as an inappropriate medium for devotional verse. Martz is typical when he condemns Southwell's mannered style as the "worst extravagances of Petrarchan poetry...".(36) Clearly Southwell would not have agreed. As we have seen, holy things are full of art - are curious frames of exquisite workmanship - it is unholy and unregenerate things which are lacking in art. Moreover, there are strong grounds for the view that religious poets believed the mannered style to be the appropriate style for devotional, including meditative, verse. I would argue that Southwell's use of the mannered style for devotional verse is at least as important for the subsequent history of English poetry as the 'meditative' elements highlighted by Louis Martz.

The following discussion considers the devotional significance of literary Mannerism.

Meditation

My exploration of Southwell's poetry has led me to agree with Martz that Southwell is "the first significant writer of a new kind of English poetry...", meditative religious poetry.(37) It seems probable that between the informal Latin sequence and his return to England, he abandoned poetry in order to concentrate on his religious studies and devotional life. When he came to England, permitted and even encouraged to engage in literary work, the poetry that he wrote reflected the spiritual discipline of the intervening years, and this in part accounts for the transformation of his poetry.(38)

I agree with Martz as to the central importance of meditation for Southwell's work. A description of a *poursuivant* raid by his fellow Jesuit Gerard gives some idea of the place of meditation and meditative writing in the life of a Missionary priest:

On the table they saw all my meditation notes, my breviary, and several Catholic books, and what I valued most, my manuscript sermons and notes for sermons...(39)

Southwell's 'table' would have been even more cluttered with the additional items of his poems and prose works; and it is highly likely that he would have given his meditation notes a similar priority in any inventory of his 'literary' work.

I would suggest, however, that Martz's account of the influence of meditation on Southwell's poetry is in need of revision. Briefly stated, Martz's case is that the "intellectual, argumentative evolution" of Metaphysical poetry is a result of it being written "to some extent, under the influence of methods of meditation that led toward the deliberate evolution of a threefold structure of exposition (memory), analysis (understanding), and colloquy (affections, will)."(40) In seeing Southwell's poetry in such terms, Martz is working backwards from what he regards as the most interesting feature

of Metaphysical poetry. But in giving his treatment of Southwell such an emphasis, he gives an unsatisfactory account of Southwell, and neglects an aspect of his poetry - the interconnection of meditation and literary mannerism (which Martz does not like) - which is at least as important for subsequent poetry as the aspect he focuses upon.

An important gap in Martz's argument is his failure to provide any basis in Renaissance poetics for his theory, which is based entirely upon his discovery of analogies between meditative writings and poetry. It is possible to make good this failure by reference to Possevino's De poesi et pictura where certain remarks on the relevance of meditation for painters are intended also for poets. According to Possevino, the artist must meditate his subject before producing his work in order to represent it truthfully and reverently. The emphasis on truth - by which he means visual and historical realism based on the best scholarly knowledge of antiquity - is in pointed contrast to the practice of Mediaeval painters. Possevino's attitude here unites contemporary art-theory and Ignatian stress on 'seeing the spot'. It seems likely that they are both expressions in different contexts of the same Renaissance mentality.

Certain of Southwell's poems accord with this programme. They present religious subjects with realism, an exposition of their meaning, and with reverence. However, Martz's attempts to demonstrate the presence of meditative structure in the poems are generally unconvincing.

With some of his examples, the nativity poems and 'Sinnes Heavie Loade', he is on particularly strong ground as the poems use set topics for meditation which were traditionally subjects for visual representation. Moreover the poems have demonstrable kinship with specific meditations, and it would be difficult to deny that they are meditations in their own right. Other poems, particularly 'Mary Magdalens Blush' and 'Josephs Amazement', which Martz does not mention



as meditations and indeed treats with some severity as showing Southwell at his weakest, are also instances of the psychological realism in dramatic portrayals of religious subjects cultivated by the Jesuits, and which has been seen to derive from the Ignatian 'composition of place':

The tendencies, plots, theatrical methods and modes of presentation of the Jesuit theatre correspond in an unmistakeable manner to the hell and passion drama prescribed by Ignatius in the Exercises. It might almost seem that the dramatists and stage managers of this theatre, mindful of all those things that Ignatius had tried to awaken in the imagination of his followers, had now brought them to a real stage, assisted by striking settings, costumes and properties.(41)

But despite the undoubted indebtedness to meditation Martz's attempts to demonstrate the presence of meditative structure are forced and unconvincing. A detailed critique of Martz's analyses is given in the final chapter where a number of poems are discussed individually. For the moment I confine myself to a brief note on 'Sinnes Heavie Loade' as an example. This is a poem recognizably related to the genre of elegy in which direct address and apostrophes, a dramatic situation, and a concluding prayer or petition are part of the conventions. It would seem inherently more reasonable to account for the structure of such a poem by reference to set generic models than to have recourse to meditation, unless the structure is inexplicable in poetic terms. Furthermore, Martz finds it necessary to trim the poem to fit the Procrustean bed of meditative structure by saying that the section of the understanding is two stanzas too long, and the last two stanzas of the poem are redundant.(42)

What I want to do here is to explore another aspect of the relation of art and meditation neglected by Martz and which is illuminating for an aspect of Metaphysical poetry - 'metaphysical wit' - where Martz's account is unhelpful. This is the relationship between meditation and literary mannerism. There is strong support

for the link between devotion and the mannered style in the formal poetics of the time. Mutius writes:

At opera divini opificii numero, varietate, et ornatu, admiratione quotidiana omnium ingenia ad scribendum invitant, et ad supremi laudem auctoris et sacra celebranda mysteria exhortantur: rara tamen de his mentio est, quod poeticam facultatem excedere fortasse arbitrantur. Negare non ausim, eam esse divinarum rerum vim atque dignitatem, ut nullo stylo assequi possimus; non tamen ita remotam censeo, ut camaenis inaccessiblei rear.(Poss. p.465)

[Moreover, the works of the divine artificer by their number, variety, and ornament draw all wits to take up writing out of ceaseless admiration, and encourage them to praise the supreme author and to celebrate his sacred mysteries. However, rarely is it noted of these things that perhaps they exceed the poetic faculty. I may not deny that the strength and worth of divine things is such that we may not rival them with the pen. I do not deem it so remote, however, that I judge it inaccessible to the muses.]

While Possevino writes:

Quin si quod addendum, vel tanquam Emblema intexendum est, expedit ut ex ipsis potius mysteriis, atque aureis illis ac sacrosanctis velaminibus petatur, quibus ipse Spiritus Sanctis arcana contexit, quo intus agente et calescimus et alios calfacimus, et nihil est quod praesto inde non sit ad inventionem, collocationem, ornatum tanquam e locupletissima penu.(p.441)

[Furthermore, if anything needs to be added or inwoven as an emblem, it is fitting that it be sought especially among these mysteries and those golden and sacred veils in which the Holy Spirit has concealed secret things; by which means we may both grow warm ourselves and warm others inwardly. There is nothing from there, as if from a well-stocked larder, which may not be useful for subject-matter, composition, or decoration.]

Southwell himself confirms this use of the Bible as a source of decoration as well as subject-matter by describing Mary Magdalen as adorned with all that art or devotion might afford.(43) Since I intend to show the relation between meditation and mannerism, I shall proceed by reference to meditative contexts, both in the writings of Southwell himself, and in the Hundred Meditations on the Love of God of Diego de Estella which were translated or transcribed by Southwell. The key concept linking meditation and poetic composition is that of God as

maker, a superlative craftsman. Thus Southwell writes in his spiritual notebooks:

If a prince should chance to tear a precious robe upon a nail, the craftsman will repair it with such care and diligence that far from spoiling the appearance of the robe, the rent will even add to its beauty and value.(44)

This is one of Southwell's favourite analogies. Here he makes two applications. First he applies it to the violence that a man does to his own nature in overcoming his "natural attraction towards men" and turning his affection towards God. Second, he applies it to the "most precious garment of Christ" which far from being spoiled by nails, was rendered yet more bright and glorious. When he uses the analogy in the Epistle of Comfort, the relevance to the artifice of literary style is evident:

And as a cunninge imbroderer havinge a peece of torne or fretted velvet for his ground, so contryveth and draweth his worke, that the fretted places being wroughte over with curious knottes or flowers, they farr excel in shew the other whole partes of the velvet: so God being to worke upon the grounde of our bodyes, by you [the persecutors] so rente and dismembred, will cover the ruptures, breaches, and wounds, which you have made, with so unspeakable glory, that the whole partes which you lefte, shalbe highlye beautified by them.(45)

What I want to suggest is that for Southwell rhetorical art is a metaphorical transformation corresponding both to the actual transformation wrought by God and to the transformation wrought in meditation as one rises towards a vision of truth. There is a deep connection between 'art' and 'devotion': the curious knots or flowers of Renaissance rhetoric become a metaphor for the divine art which re-writes a mutilated into a glorious body; a means of representing the transfigured reality which is seen or imagined in meditation.

The connection might be made clearer by referring to the Hundred Meditations on the Love of God:

What lines can be so artificially curiously wrought with

the hand of any skilful workman or excellent painter that can come near or be any way compared to the excellency and wonderful beauty of the brightness of the sky and flowers of the field; but if we behold the order, harmony and concord of this world, what excuse canst thou allege, O my soul, not to be presently lifted up, and wholly fixed into thy God?(46)

Estella is describing the world as if it were a mannerist poem, "artificially curiously wrought...", orderly, harmonious and concordant. This description covers a number of features which were seen as both belonging to such art, and being either present in, or having their counterparts in God's creation: emblems, conceits, paradoxes, figure poems, acrostic poems, numerological poems, poems employing various forms of syntactic and verbal patterning. All are in one way or another devices that imitate the congruence of a divinely structured universe: and I would argue that there is a close analogy between this pattern of meditation described by Estella and the mannerist devotional poem; that, in effect, the mannerist devotional poem enacts such a meditation.

Elizabeth Cook indeed notes the connection in the narrower context of figure poems when she writes that "many Christian figured poems can be understood in relation to meditative practice". She notes that "acrostics would seem to derive from the same way of thinking as that which contrives figured poems".(47) It is implicit in her account that numerological and emblematic poems also derive from the same way of thinking. I would go further and emphasise the family relationship between two distinct classes of devices which might be grouped under the headings of Emblem and verbal or syntactical embroidery. For the Renaissance writer the connection was clear. The art of the Emblem was primarily an art of 'inlay' or mosaic; which could be used as an analogy for literary work which is very far from being 'Emblematic' in the common acceptance of the term. Possevino describes the Virgilian Centos of the Capilupi in the following terms:

Ac ut perfectus fctor, qui ex diversissimis lapidibus opus egregium fingit, emblematemque componit, sic illi ex omnibus Virgilii locis, quae ad suam sententiam inprimis facerent, optima quaeque excerpserunt, atque libaverunt, unumque corpus confecere.(p.437)

[And as the expert image-maker who shapes an excellent work and composes an emblem from the most diverse stones, so they selected and extracted the best from all the verses of Virgil, especially those they might adapt to their own sense, and made them into a single body.]

Indeed the technique of mosaic, and corresponding techniques in other media, are seen as the necessary ground of the Emblem. According to Possevino 'emblematic' literally and primarily applies to whatever uses 'inlay' for decoration. Subsequently it is used metaphorically for images formed in mosaic, and metonymically for poems in which such images are expounded:

...nos afferimus: nempe Emblemata dici quicquid interseritur ornatus causa, non modo in parietibus et pavimentis, verum etiam in aliis plerisque omnibus rebus...Antiquitus enim lapillis quadratis et minute sectis et expositis, in quibus icones quaedam erant intertextae...ornabantur regiae magnatum... Quamobrem metaphorice Emblemata sic vocantur, quibus imagines...explicantur... Emblemata sumamus metonymice pro Carmine sive Epigrammate, quo explicatur...Emblema.(p.480)

[I would add that whatever is inserted or inwoven for the sake of decoration is to be called an Emblem, not only in walls and pavements but also in the great majority of all other things... For in ancient times the palaces of great men were adorned with arrangements of small stones minutely trimmed and cut in which certain images were unfolded... Wherefore things are metaphorically called 'Emblemata' in which images are unfolded... I take 'Emblemata' to refer to songs or epigrams in which Emblems are unfolded.]

Renaissance writers habitually associate the content of a poem and its style of execution. The following quotation illustrates the point in terms which are among the commonest of Renaissance literary commonplaces:

...the Spirit of our Lord did walk upon the waters, as if it were the mind of some singular workman discoursing many ways how of a massive lump of gold to frame or draw out some curious image or other exquisite piece of workmanship.(48)

Typically, exquisite pieces of poetic workmanship, using devices which imitate God's handiwork, invite the reader to admire God's handiwork which far surpasses that of man. "Gods works our wit exceed". Whatever man can do in the way of wit, God can do better. However, as Cook observes, the effect of this is to make "discretely outrageous claims for human creativity"; for while man, perforce, necessarily falls short of God, it is the wittiest human craftsman who is the closest approximation to the image of God.(49) In emphasizing the human likeness of God and the divine likeness of man, such poems lift up the human soul - to use Estella's terms - and fix it into God.

## Chapter V

### Saint Peters Complaint

#### 1.0

'Saint Peters Complaint' is a poem of 132 six-line stanzas, or of 136 stanzas if the prefatory poem 'The Author to the Reader' is included; and I will argue that it should be counted as an integral part of the work. The body of the poem consists of Peter's lamentation for his sin of denying Christ three times in the High Priest's courtyard, and is uttered some time between the cockcrow that marks his denial and the Resurrection.

The large number of printings of the poem and its imitation by other poets testify both to its contemporary popularity and prestige.(1) The comment of the "judicious" Jacobean critic Edmund Bolton may be regarded as fairly representing the judgement of Southwell's contemporaries:

Never must be forgotten St. Peter's Complaint, and those other serious Poems said to be father Southwell's; the English whereof as it is most proper, so the sharpness, and Light of Wit is very rare in them.(2)

From the mid-seventeenth century Southwell's works, like those of many

of his contemporaries, sank into a profound obscurity which was compounded in Southwell's case by the virtual proscription of Catholicism. The widespread ignorance is typified by Anthony A Wood's mistaken attribution of 'Saint Peters Complaint' to John Davies of Hereford.(3) When interest in Southwell revived towards the end of the eighteenth century, it was as part of the profound ideological change which produced the Romantic movement and also brought about a rehabilitation of Catholicism. His poetry was admired as a "natural and unforced expression" of his "religious fervour" which was "of the simplest and most genuine kind".(4) 'Saint Peters Complaint' was not acceptable to such a taste. Lowell described it as:

thirty pages of maudlin repentance, in which the distinctions between the north and northeast sides of a sentimentality are worthy of Duns Scotus.(5)

In fact his objection to the unnatural exaggeration of sentiment is complementary to the more common objection to the poem, that it is "over-ingenious and over-elaborate in style and expression".(6) Writers on Southwell are virtually unanimous in this view which is expressed more recently by Louis Martz who points to Southwell's "excessive" use of parallelism and antithesis, and accuses Southwell of indulging "in all the worst extravagances of Petrarchan poetry...".(7)

It should be noted that Martz's automatic assumption that 'excessive' wit is a bad thing is antithetical to the view of Southwell and his contemporaries. The value judgements of such words as 'excessive', 'artificial', or 'natural' have changed. "Exceed conceit, for she exceeds conceit..." writes Thomas Lodge in a poem praising his mistress.(8) Many variations on this commonplace could be cited from both secular and religious contexts. It was a particular favourite of the poets of The Phoenix Nest.(9) The attitude of many critics has been that such 'excessive conceit' is a worthless



discardible husk which must be removed to disclose the valuable kernel of paraphraseable thought and feeling. Janelle is not untypical when he describes his approach as piercing "the overlying crust of conceits and oratory" to reveal "the deeper feeling", or as "removing the veil of artificiality, [to] gaze at the beautiful statue underneath".(10)

This writing-off of "excessive conceit" has severely restricted our understanding of Renaissance poetry whose style and execution are an important element of its meaning. Critical light has dawned more slowly in the case of Southwell than for poets who have received more concentrated attention. Even Nancy Brown who gives the first clear and coherent account of the structure of 'Saint Peters Complaint' in terms of the Catholic doctrine of penance and Ignatian meditation, only sees half the poem because she has her sights on what lies "beneath" the surface.(11)

In fact, I would argue that when due regard is given to the art of the poem, 'Saint Peters Complaint' stands revealed as the brilliant crowning achievement of Southwell's poetic career. It is, one would venture to say, deliberately and 'artificially' the completion and fulfilment of what had gone before, whose various elements it draws together and integrates. We might almost adapt to describe it what Southwell says of Eden in the 'Poema de assumptione B.M.V.', taking the world to refer to the rest of his work and the garden to refer to 'Saint Peters Complaint':

Quicquid in immenso pulchri diffunditur orbe,  
Et sparsum solumque alias aliasque per oras  
Cernitur, hoc uno totum concluditur horto.  
(11.25-27)

[Whatever of beauty is spread through the immense world,  
Separated and solitary through many and various regions,  
Here in a sum is contained in a single garden.]

This observation is not at all fanciful, since we have noted that the best works of the supreme artificer - Man, Eden, Mary, Christ, Paradise - are all microcosmic sums of beauty and delight. The

absence of such artifice is a feature of hell and purgatory. Like the divine artificer, Southwell forms the scattered elements of his work into a microcosm of the world, with a sum of beauty and delight at its centre.

This is almost to presuppose that the poem is among the latest of Southwell's writings. This judgement, which reverses that of Praz and Janelle that the poem is among the earliest of the English writings, is based largely on considerations of the relation of the poem to the rest of Southwell's English poetry.(12) Nancy Brown, indeed, does supply some textual 'evidence' to show that the poem was in a final but unpolished draft, and therefore was probably among the last things Southwell was working on at the time of his arrest.(13) Evidence which would prove almost conclusively the late date of 'Saint Peters complaint' would be very valuable. At the same time proof that the poem is textually imperfect would have implications for our account of the poem. Nancy Brown's evidence, therefore, merits searching examination.

She cites three points in the text as illustrating her contention that the poem was left in an unrevised state at the time of his arrest. (A further point is the misplacement of certain stanzas in some of the printed editions and manuscripts. This does not occur in all cases and is attributable to a copyist's error somewhere in the process of transmission, and not to the state in which Southwell had left his manuscript.) The first of her points arises from Southwell's rewriting of the shorter version of the poem. In this earlier version Peter asks "Was life so deare and Christ become so base,..."; which becomes in the long version "And could I rate so high a life so base?...". According to Brown the removal of the name of Christ in this first line of the stanza leaves the pronouns 'his' and 'him' of the final lines of the stanza without antecedent reference, an inconsistency which revision might have removed.(14) This begs the

question of why Southwell rewrote the line and, presumably, considered the later version an improvement, since the earlier version would have fitted the context of the later version and avoided the supposed inconsistency. In fact the exclusion of the name of Christ and the other alterations to the line are a typical case of Southwell embroidering his earlier version, in this case with a witty syntactical ambiguity which in no way affects the clarity of the sense since the two readings are congruent and the identity of Christ as "him" is never in doubt. Peter is lamenting that he undervalued "so high a life" as that of Christ; and that he overvalued "a life so base" as that of man in the world. The word-play is clearly deliberate: in both versions 'base' refers to Christ, while in the later version it also refers to mortal life whose baseness has been the subject of the preceeding stanzas. Rather than being a blemish, this line should be counted an instance of felicity.

The two examples she gives of "more serious textual blemishes" are equally groundless. In both cases she suggests that alternative versions of passages have both been included in error, perhaps as a result of Southwell's too casual method of indicating deletions. For the sake of economy I shall only examine one of her examples, a passage of four stanzas which is part of the description of Christ's eyes:

O living mirrours, seeing whom you shew,  
Which equall shaddows worthes with shadowed things:  
Ye make thinges nobler then in native hew,  
By being shap'd in those life giving springs.  
Much more my image in those eyes was grac'd,  
Then in my selfe whom sinne and shame defac'd.

All seeing eyes more worth then all you see,  
Of which one is the others onely price:  
I worthles am, direct your beames on me,  
With quickning vertue cure my killing vice.  
By seeing things, you make things worth the sight,  
You seeing, salve, and being seene, delight.

O Pooles of Hesebon, the bathes of grace,  
Where happy spirits dyve in sweet desires:  
Where Saints rejoyce to glasse their glorious face,

Whose banks make Eccho to the Angels quires:  
An Eccho sweeter in the sole rebound,  
Than Angels musick in the fullest sound.

O eies, whose glaunces are a silent speech,  
In cyphred words, high misteries disclosing:  
Which with a looke all sciences can teach,  
Whose textes to faithfull heartes need little glosing:  
Witnes unworthy I, who in a looke,  
Learnd more by rote, then all the scribes by booke.  
(ll.367-390)

Nancy Brown comments on this passage:

At the point where the error occurs the imagery has been formulated into strictly parallel statements: in ll. 367-72 it is concerned with sight and reflection; in ll. 379-81 with feeling and the response engendered by it; in ll. 382-384 with sound and its echo; in ll. 385-90 with speech and understanding. The stanza interjected into this pattern of imagery, ll. 373-8, restates the thought content of the previous stanza - that dealing with sight and reflection - but curtails the full development of thought. It seems most likely that this stanza was inserted in error by the original copyist, overlooking a deletion in the holograph.(15)

It is clear even from Nancy Brown's account that the statements, being of unequal length, cannot be "strictly parallel". A closer look at the passage, however, shows that her analysis needs to be substantially revised. The second stanza of the passage does not restate the thought of the previous stanza: it has its own topic, of sight; and is in marked contrast to the first stanza, on reflection. The subjects of the four stanzas correspond to four functions of Christ's eyes of reflecting, seeing, delighting, and teaching. The first stanza plays with the 'illusion' that Christ's eyes make themselves and what they reflect equal as part of the same appearance. Its closing couplet, which contrasts the illusory image with the reality of a soul defaced by sin, introduces the following stanza whose subject is sight and reality. In contrast to the first stanza the second stanza affirms the supreme worth of Christ's eyes and the worthlessness of the sinful human soul. Instead of the illusory transformation of the soul by reflection, it prays for a real

transformation of the self; "With quickning vertue cure my killing vice." As the second stanza arises from the first, so it in turn introduces in its last line ("You seeing, salve, and being seene, delight") the third stanza whose subject is the delight of seeing and being seen by Christ. Brown's division of this third stanza into two halves concerned with "feeling and...response" and "sound and its echo" is misleading. The subject of the stanza is delight, and the metaphor of Christ's eyes as pools is elaborated in three aspects of pools (as bathing places, as reflective surfaces, and as echoing banks) corresponding to a threefold delight. As pools for swimming in, the eyes delight the sense of touch; as glasses or mirrors, the sense of sight; and as echoing banks, the sense of hearing.

While this might seem an over-elaborate demonstration that Nancy Brown's contention that the poem was left unrevised and contains mistakenly interpolated passages is mistaken, it is an important point relevant to later arguments about the poem's construction according to strict spatial and numerical symmetries.

It is worth noting here, while we are dwelling on this passage, that the description of Christ's glances as "a silent speech,/ In cyphred words, high misteries disclosing" may, indeed should, be read as commentary on the artistic method of the poem.

Broadly, there are two ways in which the poem consists of 'cyphered words' and 'silent speech'. In the first place the phrases refer to non-verbal means of communication such as the Emblem. Most immediately the glances are 'cyphered' because they are perfectly circular cyphers or zeroes. They are cyphered or encoded in an emblem, and that emblem is a cypher or zero. Taking 'cypher' in its wider meaning, however, 'cyphered words' should be read as referring to language governed by number, metre, and rhetorical 'figure'. Christ's eyes and Southwell's words reflect each other. As 'cyphered words' Christ's glances produce the 'cyphered words' of Southwell's

poem. Writers on the Emblem speak of the image and its verbal complement as 'res' and 'verba' but writers strove to overcome this dichotomy and, as it were, to reify their language into a figured equivalent of the visual image, in the same way that makers of visual images strove to create a visual equivalent of language.(16)

In the second place, 'silent speech' or 'cyphered words' might refer to the communication of dark or hidden meanings through irony and double-entendre. In fact an instance of such a mystery encoded within a double meaning is given in the lines:

An Eccho sweeter in the sole rebound,  
Then Angels musick in the fullest sound.

Peter intends to say that Christ makes the echo sweeter than the music, as he makes the reflection nobler than its object. The 'high mystery' disclosed is that a human soul reconciled ("rebound") to Christ is sweeter to Christ than the company of the angels. Peter is such a soul 'rebound' though he does not realize it.

This division between the two aspects of 'cypher' serves as a basis for our two-fold approach to the poem. In the first part we shall analyse the composition of the poem as a microcosm and 'sum' by reference to the rest of the poetry. In effect we shall be looking at the poem as a stylistic and structural emblem. In the second part we shall give a reading of the poem paying particular attention to the mysteries encoded in irony and ambiguity.

2.0

#### 1. 'Saint Peters Complaint' and the rest of Southwell's poetry.

It was mentioned that the four highly differentiated items of Southwell's Latin poetry - the two longer poems and the two sequences - furnished an approximate pattern for the English verse. They also

furnish a pattern for the relation of Southwell's shorter English poems to 'Saint Peters Complaint', in that the English poems show a comparable distribution of effort between long and short poems. I propose to treat the relationship of 'Saint Peters Complaint' to the rest of the poetry in two stages; taking the Latin poems first, and then going on to the English poems.

The extent to which 'Saint Peters Complaint' has significant parallels with each of the items of the Latin poetry is little short of astonishing. Its protean character - combining epic, elegy, epigram, and meditation - is clearly revealed in its integration of the elements of the Latin poems.

i. 'Saint Peters Complaint' and the 'Poema de assumptione B.V.M.'

Despite the very great differences between these two poems, there are parallels and likenesses that, in certain respects, bring them closer to each other than they are to any other of Southwell's poems. These parallels suggest that Southwell is re-attempting the small epic in the context of the genre of 'sinner's complaint'.

Both poems have a cosmic scope, scanning the whole of human history and the height and depth of heaven and hell. In both, Christ's descent into hell and his defeat of Satan, though not the ostensible subject and obliquely treated in both, is the central episode of the poem.

Of course the treatment of this subject matter is very different. The Latin poem is narrated objectively, as if by an omniscient author. 'Saint Peters Complaint' is uttered against the background of the Passion of which Peter speaks in inspired ignorance, misunderstanding the import of much that is given to him by inspiration. Thus, in describing the events that took place in the High Priest's courtyard, he speaks of entering a metaphorical hell at the same time that Jesus is crucified, and speaks of Jesus creating heaven in that hell at the

same time that Jesus enters hell. This oblique and cyphered treatment of Christ's descent into hell has a parallel in the treatment of the same episode in the Latin poem, which is also treated indirectly, in a speech by Death against the Virgin Mary.

Like the Latin poem, 'Saint Peters Complaint' has a description of Paradise. In 'Saint Peters Complaint' Southwell 'telescopes' the description of heaven and hell, and of heaven and Christ; placing heaven at the centre of hell and describing heaven in the person of Christ.

A further parallel between the poems is the emphasis given to the role of women in the fall and the redemption. In the Latin poem the defeat of Death by Mary is comic poetic justice echoing the Fall of Man. Death is overthrown by a mere woman: "Est mulier, mulier nostris contraria fatis...". Southwell uses a similar comic bathos in Peter's account of his 'fall'.

Threates threw me not, tormentes I none assayde:  
My fray, with shades: conceites, did make me yeeld,  
Wounding my thoughtes with feares: selfely dismayde  
I neither fought, nor lost, I gave the field.  
Infamous foyle: a maidens easie breath  
Did blow me down, and blast my soule to death.  
(ll.163-168)

Though Peter does not know it, his defeat is parallel to the defeat of Satan who is also conquered by "a maidens easie breath". At one point Peter hears voices which he interprets as devils mocking his fall. Since he is speaking at the same time as Christ's harrowing of hell, he is certainly mistaken. The voices are either of devils lamenting the defeat of their leader or of angels rejoicing in it.

Our rocke (say they) is riven, O welcome hower,  
Our Eagles wings are clipt, that wrought so hie:  
Our thundring Clowde made noise but cast no shower,  
He prostrate lies, that would have scal'de the sky.  
In womans tongue our runner found a rub,  
Our Cedar now is shrunke into a shrub.  
(ll.613-618)



ii. 'Saint Peters Complaint' and the 'Epistola'

The 'Epistola' is the first of Southwell's 'sinner's complaints' and the basis and pattern for this genre of his work. In addition to this far-reaching generic similarity, the poem has a feature possessed only by the 'De assumptione', 'Elegia VIII', and 'Saint Peters Complaint' among the rest of the poetry; that is the construction of the poem around an exactly central episode. It is as though Southwell regarded such construction as a sine qua non of the longer poem.

As with the 'De assumptione' so in the 'Epistola', the central episode is substantially paralleled in 'Saint Peters Complaint'. In the case of 'De assumptione' it was the descent of Christ into hell. In the case of the 'Epistola' it is the conversion of a diseased sinner to Christ as healer, his salve and salvation. The four central lines of the 'Epistola' are:

Squalida languentes febris depascitur artus  
Imaque pervasit tabidus ossa dolor  
Nec mihi curandis dantur medicamina morbis  
Tu nisi succurras non feret alter opem  
(ll.73-76)

[Filthy fever battens on my weakening limbs,  
And consuming pain racks my inmost marrows,  
Nor are medicines given me for the cure of my diseases,  
Unless you hasten to help, no other will bring aid.]

The central episode of 'Saint Peters Complaint' follows a similar pattern. Peter realizes the extremity of his disease, his deathful plight:

What daunger, distance, death is worse than this:  
That runnes from God, and spoyles his soule of blisse?  
(ll.227-228)

Turning to see and be seen by Christ is the cure for this disease of sin:

But those unspotted eyes encountred mine,  
As spotlesse Sunne doth on the dounghill shine...  
Whose looke did pearce my heart with healing wound:

Launching impostumde sore of perjurde lies,...  
(11.335-336, 446-447)

It is most ingenious how Southwell has combined these two episodes, which represent almost two genres, of the heroic descent into hell and the conversion of a repentant sinner.

iii. 'Saint Peters Complaint' and the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies'

There are few tangible points of contact between 'Saint Peters Complaint' and the 'Fragment of a Series of Elegies'. The likenesses are chiefly stylistic and generic. There is, however, one striking parallel, in the use of central accent, which is similar to those already noted. 'Elegia VIII' emphasises the centrality and redemptive power of love. Its central couplet is:

Dixi ego, ne dubita, memori vivemus amore,  
Quam tuus ipse tuus, tam mea semper eris.  
(11.31-32)

[I said: doubt not, we live in the memory of love,  
As I am yours, truly yours, so you will always be mine.]

In 'Saint Peters Complaint' the centrality of love is explicit in the following lines which closely follow and comment on the central moment of the poem:

O gracious spheres, where love the Center is,  
A native place for our selfe-loaden soules:  
(11.403-404)

Thus 'Saint Peters Complaint' not only parallels the use of central accent in the three longest of the Latin poems, but also combines their diverse subject-matter in a single episode which is at once a triumph in hell, a cure of disease, and a triumph of love.

A clear generic and stylistic relationship can be demonstrated through the relationship that both have to the English 'Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ'. Each of the three employs the same kind of mannered wit: hyperbolic conceits, embroidered rhetorical schemes,

and puns and paronomasia. The English Sequence echoes the Latin, and 'Saint Peters Complaint' echoes the English Sequence. Thus we can trace an indirect relationship mediated by the English Sequence. If anything, however, it is the differences between the Latin Sequence and 'Saint Peters Complaint' on the one hand, and the 'Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ' which point to the close relationship of the former works. The 'Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ' is epigrammatic. The Latin Sequence and 'Saint Peters Complaint' are Elegies or Complaints. Where epigram aims to display wit, elegy using the same means as epigram with the exception of brevity, aims to excite the feelings. The difference, basically, is the copiousness of elegy, particularly in its use of apostrophe and exclamation, to which is attributed its affective power.(17) It is this copiousness of the very same features as are found in the English Sequence which Martz anathematizes in 'Saint Peters Complaint' as "all the worst extravagance of Petrarchan poetry". It is certain that Martz would have described the Latin Sequence in similar terms, and it is noteworthy that these are the only two cases of such writing in the whole of Southwell's poetry.

#### iv. 'Saint Peters Complaint' and the informal Latin sequence.

The informal sequence marked a shift from the literary to the devotional, from the speaker as a dramatic persona to first person confessional poetry. As such it is relevant to the bulk of the English poetry, including 'Saint Peters Complaint', which might be described as Elegy or Complaint.

Now although Saint Peter is developed as an historical character like the Prodigal Son, it is also the case that he is a representative figure or type and his development as an historical figure detracts little from his role as a vehicle for Southwell's devotional expression.

There is another slight parallel, a foreshadowing of 'Saint

Peters Complaint' (as of 'Christs Bloody Sweat') in the Latin poem 'In festum pentecostes', which concludes the informal sequence. As we have seen this begins with a description of Christ's entry into heaven in epic style, shifts into an elegiac mode as a wretched earthmen petitions for help, and returns to an elevated style to describe the descent of the Holy Spirit.

We noted that this foreshadowed the shift in register of 'Christs Bloody Sweat', and would also note that it foreshadows the fusion of genre, of literary and devotional elements of 'Saint Peters Complaint'.

v. Summing up, we can say of the relation between 'Saint Peters Complaint' and three of the four items of Latin poetry that in specific respects it is closer to each of these poems than it is to any other of the English poems, and that it represents an integration of features found separately in the Latin poems.

### 3.0

#### 'Saint Peters Complaint' and the English poems.

Now this might suggest that Martz and Praz were right to assign an early date of composition to the poem, soon after the Latin poetry. But this is not the case. A similar pattern holds in respect of the English poetry, with the qualification that the parallels and echoes are more numerous and closer than they are with the Latin poems, as may be shown by a small number of examples.

The prefatory poem to 'Saint Peters Complaint' ('The Author to the Reader') echoes phrases in several other poems, most significantly the poem which prefaces the shorter English poems, 'To the Reader'. Both poems address the reader as 'dear eye'. "Deare eye that doest peruse my muses style..." is the opening line of 'To the Reader'; "Deare eie that daynest to let fall a looke," of 'The Author to the Reader'. This is a significant pointer to the late composition of

'Saint Peters Complaint' since, clearly, 'To the Reader' would have been written after the bulk of the English poems. Moreover, 'The Author to the Reader' echoes some of Southwell's most brilliant poems. The line, "Muse not to see some mud in cleerst brookes", echoes the phrase 'cleare brookes' in 'Christs bloody sweat', while the line 'You heavenly spark of wit, shew native light', echoes the notion of man as a divine wit whose true home is heaven, which is treated in 'At home in heaven' and 'Looke home'. The phrasing of this last poem is echoed several times in 'Saint Peters Complaint', most strikingly in the line "I should, I would, I dare not say, I will" which echoes the line "He should, he could, he would, he did the best."

The parallels can be more extensive than this. For example a whole stanza of 'Christs Sleeping Friends' serves as the basis for a stanza of 'Saint Peters Complaint':

When Christ with care and panges of death opprest  
 From frightened flesh a bloody sweate did raine,  
 And full of feare without repose or rest  
 In agony did pray and watch in paine  
 Three sundry times he his disciples findes  
 With heavy eies, but farre more heavy mindes,  
 (ll.1-6)

The corresponding stanza in 'Saint Peters Complaint' is:

When Christ attending the distressefull hower  
 With his surcharged brest did blisse the ground,  
 Prostrate in panges, rayning a bleeding shower,  
 Me, like my selfe, a drowsy friend he found.  
 Thrice in his care sleepe closde my carelesse eye:  
 Presage, how him my tong should thrise deny.  
 (ll.187-192)

But in spite of all the elements that 'Saint Peters Complaint' has in common with the whole range of his poetry in Latin and English, which make it, as it were, at once epic, amatory elegy, complaint, passionate dramatic discourse; its main generic affiliation is to the 'sinners complaint' which represents a substantial portion of his work. Again 'Saint Peters Complaint' may be represented as a fusion

of elements. It is both the culmination of his attempts at the particular subject-matter of Saint Peter's lamentation after betraying Christ - suggested by the Lagrima of Tansillo; and it is the culmination of a wider group of penitential complaints.

Nancy Brown has clearly outlined the development of Southwell's treatment of the subject of Peter's lamentation after denying Christ by tracing the relationships between Southwell's various attempts at this subject.(18) These are: '[The] Peter Playnt', a rough draft of a translation of part of Luigi Tansillo's Le Lagrime di San Pietro; 'S. Peters Complaint', a poem of eleven four-line stanzas found only in one manuscript; 'Saint Peters Complaynt', a poem of twelve six-line stanzas found in all the manuscripts and published with the shorter English poems; and 'Saint Peters Complaint', the final long version of the poem.

Although Tansillo's poem in its entirety bears little resemblance to Southwell's treatment of the subject, the translated section can be seen to have formed a basis for Southwell's attempts. It begins with Peter describing himself as a boastful champion who was defeated in a pinch by two maids. Christ's look both cuts him to the heart and warms him like that of a lover. Weeping bitterly he goes forth in search of penance. Nancy Brown says that

The stanzas Southwell translated sustain an objective and narrative point of view...In contrast, in each of the three original versions, Peter is the speaker throughout; both time and place are left deliberately indeterminate...(19)

This is true of his first two versions, but not of the long version. True, Peter is the speaker throughout; but there is an implicit narrative which relates to determinable - though cyphered - times and places. This narrative derives from that of the translated fragment.

The wider group of 'sinner's complaints', of which 'Saint Peters Complaint' is a culmination consists of: the Latin 'Epistola', 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke', 'S.Peters Afflicted Minde' and

'S.Peters Remorse' taken together. These poems, as we have seen, share a common structural and doctrinal frame.

While there is no concrete evidence for the late composition of 'Saint Peters Complaint', its character as a summation, one might almost say a consummation, is persuasive evidence. It might be argued that poetic development need not be in the direction of integration, but even if this objection were accepted, it would not derogate from the achievement of 'Saint Peters Complaint'. In the final analysis, the main value of a chronological ordering of the works of a poet such as Southwell is to construct a working model which makes the whole work more intelligible.

#### 4.0

We turn now to the second aspect of our treatment of 'Saint Peters Complaint', to give a reading of the sense of the poem with particular attention to decoding the poem's cypher or code.

It might seem a bold claim to describe the poem as 'cyphered'. I certainly do not mean that its sense is difficult of access. Indeed the reading given here is obvious once it is recognized that the poem is 'cyphered'; though at the same time it is substantially a 'new' interpretation of the poem.

I would suggest that the key to the poem is Holy Week, both as a set of historical events and as their re-enactment in the liturgy of the Church in Holy Week. Such an approach is invited by Southwell's own poetic theory. He writes that,

Christ himselfe, by making a Himne, the conclusion of his last Supper, and the Prologue to the first Pageant of his Passion, gave his Spouse a methode to immitate, as in the office of the Church it appeareth, and all men a paterne to know the true use of this measured stile.(20)

It may be assumed that what is said here of Christ applies also to Peter, and that his remorse furnishes a method and a pattern for the

related activities of the liturgy and devotional poetry. Conversely, if this is true, Holy Week (in the historical sequence of the actual week, and in the sequence of the liturgy) provides an interpretive key to the structure of the poem. It suggests that the Unity of Time of the poem is the Three Nights of Darkness (Tenebrae) and that the poem has some narrative structure corresponding to, and reflecting, the events of this time - the Passion and the descent among the dead. Above all it suggests that Peter's penitence is a vehicle for the subject of the redemption. This subject is stated concisely in the final stanza: "Redeeme my lapse with ransome of thy love" (l.787). Christ has redeemed man by his sacrifice but man on his part, as the petitionary form emphasizes, has to work for his salvation and cannot feel assured of it.

The chief objection to such a reading is that Peter displays no direct knowledge of events following his departure from the High Priest's palace. But we will see that Southwell makes Peter's ignorance an aspect of the darkness of the time through which he is guided by Christ who is the "light of the blind" (l.753). Paradoxically, Peter continues to follow Christ closely when he is separated from him. In the same way he "brokenly" tells the tale "rightly foretold" of Christ's Passion, descent into hell, and the dawning light of redemption (l.732). The witty device whereby Peter speaks of the Passion and redemption in unwitting ironies enacts the situation described in the first chapter of St. John's Gospel: "And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehendeth it not", an apt description of Southwell's poem.

Nancy Brown comes close when she describes the poem as ironically recalling "the events of the Passion enacted at the same time as Peter's penance", but loses the force of the insight, "at the same time", by asserting that the poem "compresses time and place into the indistinguishable present immediately following the betrayal".(21)



This I dispute. With respect to time, the matter of the poem is distributed in terms of the three times of cock-crow in the three nights of darkness. The first, preceding the denial, and the third, preceding the Resurrection, are unheard, marking the beginning and end of the poem. The second, preceding the climactic central point of Peter's monologue, heralds the dawn of redemption which begins with the Harrowing of Hell. With respect to place, it is clear that in the second half of the poem Peter has sought a tomb as a fitting place for solitary mortification. The implication is that he is keeping a pre-Easter vigil in the very grave-yard where the body of Christ is lying.

Turning to explore the poem in more detail, I would make three points about the invocation of Lamentations as the generic model for Peter's plaint:

My threnes an endlesse Alphabet do find,  
Beyond the panges which Jeremy doth paint.  
(11.39-40)

The first is that this is topical in the full sense of the word. A contemporary reader would certainly see a connection with the topic of the destruction of Jerusalem, which was publicised as a warning to sinful London. Indeed Devlin partly attributes the vogue for the subject to Southwell's treatment of it in The Epistle of Comfort.<sup>(22)</sup> Thus the contemporary and even autobiographical references of the poem are a part of its design. Southwell is, in his own terms, covertly uttering to the common good truths "which without a maske would not find so free a passage".<sup>(23)</sup> The second point is that Lamentations was taken as a divinely-sanctioned example of composition in terms of numerical and spatial patterns. The citation should dispose us to find such structures in 'Saint Peters Complaint'. The third point, which I wish to develop at greater length now, is that Lamentations is a key strand in the liturgy for Holy Week; Peter is performing a

first celebration of the Holy Week liturgy.

A feature of Lamentations exploited both in the liturgy and in Southwell's poem, is the ambiguous identity of the speaker. One of the chief source-texts of the poem is the famous

All ye that pass by, behold and see if there be any sorrow  
like unto my sorrow.(Lamentations 1.13)

(Others are "I am the man that hath seen affliction", Lamentations 3.1; and "he hath set me in dark places, as they that be dead of old", Lamentations 3.6). This is adapted by Peter in the lines:

Tell hartes that languish in the soriest plight,  
There is on earth a farre more sorry wight.  
(11.23-24)

As the Holy Spirit inspired Jeremiah, likewise Peter, speaking of his own affliction, is unwittingly inspired so that Christ speaks through him. In stanza five Peter piles up definitions of his lamentable situation:

A sorry wight, the object of disgrace,  
The monument of feare, the map of shame,  
(  
The mirrour of mishap, the staine of place,  
The scorne of time, the infamy of fame:  
An excrement of earth, to heaven hatefull:  
Injurious to man, to God ungratefull.  
(11.25-30)

He is, in fact, adapting passages in Isaiah and the Psalms which figure in the liturgy as prophecies of the Passion:

He is despised and rejected of men: a man of sorrows...we  
did esteem him stricken, smitten of God and  
afflicted.(Isaiah 53.3-4)

and,

But as for me, I am a worm, and no man: a very scorn of  
men, and the outcast of the people. (Psalms 22.6)

That Peter is referring - unwittingly - to the Passion is reiterated and underlined in stanza 6:

Be you O sharpest greeves, that ever wrung,  
Texte to my thoughts, Theme to my playning tung.  
(11.35-36)

In choosing scriptural texts which express the "sharpest greeves", Peter is selecting precisely the materials used in the liturgy - is, in fact, creating the liturgy.

What might be called 'Peter's Passion' extends to stanza 38. Peter's sufferings take the form of self-reproaches corresponding to the liturgical "reproaches" that Christ addresses to man. They recall the nature of Christ's tortures, and rebounding upon Peter, comprise a kind of cross of blame which he chooses to carry:

Did Christ manure thy hart to breed him bryars?  
(1.110)

...spit thy poyson in thy makers face...  
(1.130)

...every word was to his hart a wound,  
And launst him deeper than a thousand swordes.  
(11.135-136)

Take now thy due: beare thy begotten blame.  
(1.204)

"Begotten" refers to the hereditary guilt of original sin and Peter is seen here as a parallel and a contrast to the immaculate Christ who bears the "begotten blame" of mankind. The consequence of sin is hell and the climax and culmination of Peter's Passion occurs in stanza 38 which marks Peter's realization of the metaphorical hell of mortal sin and Christ's death and entry into hell:

What daunger, distance, death is worse than this:  
That runnes from God, and spoyles his soule of blisse?  
(11.227-228)

As hyperbole this is applicable to Peter; literally, it can only refer to the death of Christ.

The second section of the poem begins with one of the most striking double-references of the poem: "O John my guide into this

earthly hell". Southwell is using the tradition that John, in his gospel, refers to himself as accompanying Peter. But it is also the case that the tradition of the Harrowing of Hell portrays John the Baptist as welcoming Christ to hell, and, presumably acting as his host and guide.(24) Numerous references to the place as a hell, and the extensive description of the fire in the palace courtyard, drive home the point that Southwell is treating the Harrowing of Hell as an allegorical sense of Peter's monologue.

Central to Southwell's subject of the redemption is his portrayal of Peter as an Everyman figure, a representative of fallen man:

O Adams child cast by a silly Eve,  
Heire to thy fathers foyles, and borne to greeve.  
(1.179-180)

His sin is described in terms of common lust as succumbing to "brutish heats" (1.262) and "lay unconsecrate desires" (1.635). Like Adam and his offspring, women are key actors in his fall: "O women, woe to men: traps for their falls" (1.319). Later in the poem, this is counterbalanced by the key role of a woman - Mary - in the redemption.

As a fallen hero of faith before the redemption, Peter belongs with the Old Testament Fathers. In fact these were seen as types prefiguring Peter. In this section of the poem he is metaphorically with them in hell. The many references to them reflect their gathering in hell to enjoy Christ's presence before ascending to heaven.

The significance of the cock-crow that heralds Christ's appearance in hell is suggested by some lines of Prudentius that are almost certainly one of Southwell's sources. (Prudentius is one of the very few, if not the only, non scriptural poet cited by Southwell, for whom he would have had a Patristic authority).

illo quietis tempore  
quo gallus exultans canit  
Christum rediisse ex inferis.

tunc mortis oppressus vigor,  
tunc lex subacta est Tartari,  
tunc vis diei fortior  
noctem coegit cedere.  
( 'Hymnus ad Galli Cantum', 66-72)

[It was at this hour of rest when the cock crows in his pride that Christ returned from the dead. Then was the strength of death crushed, then was the law of hell subdued, then did the stronger power of day force night to flee.]

There is an ambiguity here as to the precise time intended by "tunc", which could refer either to cock-crow or to Christ's return from the dead. It would seem probable that Southwell read the lines to mean that the defeat of the devils took place at cock-crow. The point need not be pressed, though what may be pressed is that the conversion and redemption of Peter - subject to his paying the penalty of sin by purgation - takes place at the exact mid-point of the monologue. The power of the devil was broken when Peter became the first of the Christian Fathers, and, in effect, the Church came into existence.

Thus the twenty stanzas ostensibly on Christ's eyes (in Latin poetic diction lumina) represent Christ's appearance in hell, and its transformation by his presence into a temporary paradise:

O sacred eyes, the springs of living light,  
The earthly heavens, where Angels joy to dwell:  
How could you deigne to view my deathfull plight,  
Or let your heavenly beames looke on my hell?  
(11.331-334)

Hell becomes a place "Where to be lost the sweetest finding is" (1.342).

That the central, pivotal action of the poem - Peter's conversion - should occur at the mid-point of the monologue ought not to surprise us. It has been shown that "almost as a regular practice renaissance poets...would devote the central place to some principal figure or event, or make it coincide with a structural division of the poem." (25) "Christocentric structures were particularly appealing". (26) The sun and other images of sovereign power are

frequently found at the mid-point.(27) In Peter's monologue of 132 stanzas the mid-point falls between stanzas 66 and 67; that is, between lines 396 and 397:

Though malice still possessed<sup>e</sup> their hardened minds  
I, though too hard, learnd softnes in thine eye,  
Which iron knots of stubborne will unbindes,  
Offring them love, that love with love will buy.  
This did I learne, yet they could not discerne it,  
But wo, that I had now such need to learne it.

O Sunnes, all but your selves in light excelling,  
Whose presence, day, whose absence causeth night,  
Whose neighbour course brings Sommer, cold expelling,  
Whose distant periods frieze away delight. <sup>e</sup>  
Ah, that I lost your bright and fostring beams,  
To plunge my soule in these congealed streams.  
(11.391-402)

That the love at the centre of Southwell's poem is the central power of the universe is the subject of the immediately-following stanza, which treats Christ's eyes - in a characteristically Renaissance fashion - as microcosms of a heliocentric cosmology:

O gracious spheres, where love the Centre<sup>e</sup> is,  
A native place for our selfe-laden soules:  
The compasse, love, a cope that none can mis:  
The motion, love, that round about us rowles.  
O Spheres of love, whose Centre<sup>e</sup>, cope and motion,  
Is love of us, love that inspires devotion.  
(11.403-408)

Following his conversion Peter passes from a state of mortal sin corresponding to hell, to a state of purgation corresponding to purgatory:

But O, how long demurre I on his eies,  
Whose looke did pearce my heart with healing wound:  
Launching impostumde sore of perjurde lies,  
Which these two issues of mine eyes hath found:  
Where runne it must, till death the issues stop,  
And penall life hath purgde the finall drop.  
(11.445-450)

Peter is no longer lost. He has the compass of love to guide him to the cope of heaven. The serene invocation of sorrow that follows ('like solest swan...', l.451) is in marked contrast to the parallel

invocation with which his monologue began. And while his grief and remorse is unremitting, it is now the price to be paid for salvation. He is almost confident that his sacrifice will be accepted:

Your power prevails<sup>e</sup>, your sacrifice is gratefull,  
By love obtayning life, to men most hatefull.  
(11.467-468)

These lines also refer to Christ's triumphant sacrifice. In the same way the voices of the "dispossessed divels" which Peter, in his remorse, hears mocking, are either of devils lamenting their defeat by Christ (and also by Peter in remorse), or of angels rejoicing in it.

Our rocke (say they) is riven, O welcome hower,  
Our Eagles wings are clipt, that wrought so hie:  
Our thundring Clowde made noise but cast no shower,  
He prostrate lies, that would have scal'de the sky.  
In woman's tongue our runner found a rub,  
Our Cedar now is shrunke into a shrub.  
(11.613-618)

The woman who has blocked Satan's designs and redeemed her sex from the hereditary stigma of being "woe to men" is Mary. Southwell is probably referring specifically to the Magnificat.

There had been suggestions earlier that Peter was wandering aimlessly ("strayed pilgrim still I wander", 1.424), but from stanza 75 onwards he goes into retreat to practice solitary mortification ("to die alive", 1.570) as punishment for the living death of sin. The place he chooses is a tomb in a graveyard:

Heere solitary muses nurse my griefes,  
In silent lonenesse burying worldly noyse,  
Attentive to rebukes, deafe to reliefes,  
Pensive to foster cares, carelesse of joyes:  
Ruing lifes losse under deathes dreary roofes,  
Solemnizing my funerall behoofes.  
(11.739-744)

Here Peter not only records the lapse of time since the denial, but also implies that he is keeping the original Holy Week vigil:

Dayes, passe in plaintes: the nightes without repose:

I wake, to weepe: I sleepe in waking woes.  
(11.719-720)

The implication is that it is now the third night of Peter's tears and that the resurrection of Christ - and Peter's symbolic resurrection - is imminent. The graveyard could not be any other than that where Christ is lying. In stanza 126 Peter speaks of Christ having guided him in his darkness, without realizing quite how closely he has been guided:

Christ, health of feverd soules, heaven of the minde,  
Force of the feeble, nurse of Infant loves,  
Guide to the wandring foote, light to the blind,  
Whome weeping winnes, repentant sorrow moves,  
Father in care, mother in tender hart:  
Revive and save me slaine with sinnefull dart.  
(11.751-756)

Christ also has been "slaine with sinnefull dart" and awaits revival. Though not scriptural, Southwell's account of Peter's vigil in the graveyard is consistent with the Catholic tradition that he was the third witness, after the Virgin and the Magdalen, of the risen Christ.

At this point I wish to introduce a complication that may seem to be a venture onto thinner ice. On the evidence of the Latin poems it is clear that in his longer poems Southwell habitually used a form of spatial composition in which a centrally placed passage, and a central point within that passage, were specially important in the overall structure of the poem. 'Saint Peters Complaint' conforms to this pattern in part, in that Peter's conversion is the poem's central moment. However, the passage describing Christ's eyes (corresponding to Christ's presence in hell) in which Peter's conversion occurs is not central, although in a properly Christ-centred poem it ought to be. It might be said that Peter's monologue is "self-laden" to the extent that Christ holds the central point by virtue of being at the centre of Peter's life. Peter's monologue in a sense 'upstages' Christ, displacing the twenty stanzas on Christ's eyes from the



position they ought to hold. But if we count the prefatory stanzas, 'The Author to the Reader', as part of the whole composition - and this is a reasonable proposition - then these stanzas on Christ move to the exact centre of the poem. The difficulty of this analysis is that the two views of the poem are not compatible. If we say that the mid-point of the poem lies between stanza 66 and 67 (ll.396 and 397), then the twenty stanzas on Christ's eyes cannot be exactly central. Alternatively, if the twenty stanzas are central, then the mid-point identified will be displaced. One therefore advances this account with some caution. Nevertheless, the poem is extremely ingenious and even cryptic, and, according to Fowler, it is not unknown for Renaissance poems to have, as it were, a double centre.(28)

There is evidence that the tripartite structure that this reveals - of symmetrical wings extending from a centrally accented section - is indeed intended, and is a meaningful aspect of the poem. But before pointing it out I would suggest that the four prefatory stanzas are balanced in the total composition by the final four stanzas, in which the author, reader and Peter address Christ, in what is, in effect, an envoy to the poem. Thus I would outline the structure of the whole work as follows:

1. Four introductory stanzas; proem.
2. Stanzas 1-54; Peter's passion.
3. Stanzas 55-74; the light of Christ.
4. Stanzas 75-128; Peter's purgation.
5. Stanzas 129-132; envoy.

One parallel between sections 2 and 4 has already been noted. Both begin with contrasting invocations of tears:

Launche forth my Soul into a maine of teares,(l.1)

as against,

Like solest swan, that swims in silent deep,(1.451)

A more striking example is that Peter's recollections of the transfiguration come at exactly identical relative points in sections 2 and 4 (ie. at stanzas 31 and 105). This particular episode is singled out and accented because it is a high point of Peter's experience, recalling a pre-lapsarian bliss and anticipating future blessedness, and as such it plays a crucial part in the argument of both sections. Briefly summarized, the argument of the first section is that man loses bliss - or blessedness - through sin. Since the fall all men are sinful, and therefore all men are condemned to hell as the proper and ineluctable punishment of sin. The argument of the second section is parallel to that of the first, but with the crucial difference that Christ has borne the punishment of sin on man's behalf, and that Peter has experienced Christ's love and gained hope of redemption. At the same time Christ's love is a regenerative power drawing men to amend their lives by its attractive force.

The relation of the poem to the Jesuit discipline of meditation has been noted by Nancy Brown who writes that Southwell "appears to have followed the stages of the formal meditation 'On Our Sins', the second exercise for the first week of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola".(29) The structure that I have elucidated corroborates and extends this insight. I would argue that the introductory stanzas, in which the author establishes a relationship with the reader, set up a literary analogue of the relationship of a director of a retreat with a retreatant. The closing stanzas belong to this dramatic situation. The three main sections of the poem correspond to a tripartite meditative structure on the lines:

1. Meditation on sin leading to an awareness of hell.
2. Contemplation of the love and power of Christ.
3. Repeated meditation on sin infused with consolation and

hope.

That the poem contains two meditations is indicated by the parallel features of Peter's passion and Peter's purgation. The invocation of tears with which each begins, corresponds, in this view, to the prelude in which the exercitant asks of God the fruit that he wishes from the meditation (ie. "great and intense sorrow and tears for my sins").(30) The intervening section, on Christ's eyes, is of a different character. It is a contemplation, by which mystical writers generally mean "a simple regard accompanied by love" or a "simple and amorous gaze".(31) It is independent of Peter's will: "It belongs to God alone to give consolation without preceding cause".(32)

This three-fold structure corresponds closely to the summaries of the Exercises found in the Directory:

they...show him first how far he has hitherto wandered from it [the ultimate end of man], and so they beget in him sorrow and hatred of sin; next they reveal the beauty of virtue, and by the example of Christ our Lord they kindle the desire of imitating Him. Lastly, they furnish a method of reforming the whole life according to the rule and will of God...(33)

That the poem is, in a sense, a condensation of the Exercises is not wholly surprising. Southwell was fascinated by the analogy between the rhetorical process of summary and certain aspects of divine creation. In the Latin poem on Mary, Adam and Eve are described as "Cunctarum...compendia rerum" (<sup>microcosms</sup> ~~digests~~ of all things), and the idea recurs with respect to the Garden of Eden and Mary herself. The idea is found also in the English poems, particularly 'Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter' ("In summ here is all in a summ expressed"), and 'Saint Peters Complaint' ("O little worlides, the summes of all the best"). 'Saint Peters Complaint', I would suggest, should be seen as such a 'sum' both in relation to Southwell's poetry and his life.

## Chapter VI

### A Selection of Southwell's English Poetry

#### 1.0

The intention of the previous chapters was to lay the basis of knowledge and understanding of Southwell's poetry as a whole which is the precondition of just critical appreciation. The aim of this concluding chapter is to give such an appreciation.

The method and form of arrangement chosen - a selective focusing upon those poems that seem of most interest and value - has been largely conditioned by the consideration that the chief value of specialized works such as this lies in the contribution they make to more general literary histories, critical surveys, and - above all - anthologies. It is through such works that general readers, students of English Literature, and even specialists in Renaissance Literature are most likely to derive their knowledge of a poet such as Southwell.

While being wary of claiming any specially privileged 'truth' for this selection, one would go so far as to claim that it is 'valid', in that it is the product of a thorough investigation of Southwell's poetry in which an attempt has been made to surmount personal quirks of taste and historical prejudices, not least by a critical attitude

to the historical reception of Southwell's poetry, where quirkiness and prejudice have been well to the fore.

The basis of the misrepresentation of Southwell's poetry was laid very early with Jonson's comment that "so he [Jonson] had written that piece of his 'The Burning Babe' he would have been content to destroy many of his." (1) Modern anthologists have treated Jonson's impromptu remark as critical dogma, virtually turning Southwell into a 'one poem poet'; while in fact 'The Burning Babe' is neither his best nor his most representative poem.

However, it is not until relatively modern times that Jonson's remark has been taken up. The first poem to be reprinted after the long hiatus of neglect, 'A Vale of Teares', was printed by F.G. Waldron in the appendix to his edition of Jonson's The Sad Shepherd in 1783. (2) Like Jonson's comment on 'The Burning Babe' this percipient recognition of one of Southwell's most striking poems was ignored by Henry Headley who printed 'Times Goe by Turnes' and 'Scorne not the Least' in his two-volume Select Beauties of Ancient Poetry in 1787. (3)

Headley's choice was endorsed by a writer of 1839:

The more ambitious attempts of Southwell are not well sustained, and are disfigured by forced alliterations; and, in truth, his most creditable performances are those shorter poems by which his reputation was first revived in Mr Headley's Selections. These little poems are formed on the plan of working out a simple idea by a variety of analogies... (4)

C.S. Lewis represents the more recent view of these poems when he declares that they are Southwell's "weakest" poems. (5) Yet as late as 1904 Quiller-Couch included 'Times Goe by Turns' alongside 'The Burning Babe' in The Oxford Book of English Verse. (6) (In later editions it was replaced by 'The Blessed Sacrament of the Aultar'.) The explanation of this long lasting preference for the proverbial 'wisdom' poems would seem to lie in the persistence of eighteenth-century preferences and prejudices as elements of popular

taste: dislike of 'conceit', and liking for smooth metre and well-turned commonplaces. It is hard now to find these poems interesting, but one should acknowledge that this is not so much a result of their 'weakness' as of our historical conditioning. It may be that they will, in time, return to favour.

With the publication of Southwell's complete poems in several editions from 1817 onwards, a wider selection of his poems were anthologised. McDonald lists twelve widely varied poems as being commonly printed in anthologies.(7) However, prejudice and quirkiness still played a powerful role in 'foregrounding' his supposedly best work. I will not dwell here upon the views expressed by Janelle and Martz as they have been extensively treated elsewhere, but instead cite a number of representative examples from what might be thought to be authoritative sources.

Quiller-Couch could be said to have established a pattern for anthologists by printing 'The Burning Babe' as the fixed element of his selection together with an additional poem which was subject to change. It is reflected by T.S.Eliot in an anonymous review of C.M.Hood's The Book of Robert Southwell.(8) (This selection of over a half of Southwell's shorter poems includes a good deal of mediocre work and omits two of the most impressive poems; 'A Vale of Teares' and 'Christs Bloody Sweat'.) Eliot singles out two poems for special praise from among those printed; 'The Burning Babe' and 'Dyers Fancy'. Of the first of these he turns Jonson's remark into a critical dogma with the word 'certainly':

The poem chosen by that remarkable critic Ben Jonson is certainly the best; for besides the specific qualities of Southwell's verse it has a directness and force of movement elsewhere absent.

However, Eliot's singling out of the undistinguished 'Dyers Fancy' for its "curious meditation on Sin" suggests a hurried judgement based on a cursory knowledge of Southwell's work. Given such a bizarre second

choice from such an eminent source, it is hardly surprising that the second choices of lesser critics have fluctuated so wildly as to seem almost arbitrary and random. We have noted already Quiller-Couch's selections. The selection in The New Oxford Book of English Verse is an improvement only in being more extensive.(9) To the inevitable 'The Burning Babe' is added 'New Prince, New Pompe' and 'New Heaven, New Warre', and 'Upon the Image of Death' which the editor points out is of doubtful authorship. Of course these are excellent poems but far from being his best work. The Penguin anthology The Metaphysical Poets by the same editor prints 'The Burning Babe' and 'New Heaven, New Warre'.(10) In the context this choice is particularly odd because several poems, which one might reasonably prefer, represent Southwell better as a Metaphysical poet or as a precursor of Metaphysical poetry. The Penguin Book of Elizabethan Verse prints (inevitably) 'The Burning Babe', two stanzas of 'Saint Peters Complaint', and 'Upon the Image of Death', a selection that might as well have been made at random.(11)

Authoritative critical views equally invite revision. Though opinion has been largely favourable, it often takes the form of doing less than justice to Southwell's work. For example, Eliot's comment that "his verse should be studied by those who are interested in the poetry of the generation that followed his" implies that Southwell's poetry is largely of historical interest.(12) Against this one would hope to maintain that Southwell's best poems are fully realised and successful in what they set out to do and can stand comparison with the poetry of the following generation.

Value judgements like this are notoriously hard to uphold, but at least one view from an authoritative source may be corrected in point of fact; and that is C.S.Lewis's comment that his poetry is "too little varied for greatness".(13) Certainly, one would not claim that Southwell is a great poet, but his falling short of greatness is not

attributable to a lack of variety. One of the facts that has emerged in the course of this study is that Southwell's work is remarkable among that of his contemporaries for its variety and the extent to which it consists of single examples of one type of poem. There is only one long English poem, 'Saint Peters Complaint'; one epigrammatic or 'sonnet' sequence, the 'Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ'; one 'The Burning Babe'; one 'Christs Bloody Sweat'; one 'Mary Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death'; and so on. Each of these represents as it were a generic class with one member. How different from the run of Elizabethan poets who would happily write a hundred or more of the same type of poem!

The following selection has two related aims. The first is to correct the distorted image of Southwell presented by anthologies by giving a selection of the poems which is the result of a thorough sifting. The second is to correct widespread critical opinion about Southwell's poetry by demonstrating its leading characteristics, as well as its variety and excellence.

In the end, after a long period of acquaintance with his work, the selection almost made itself, so clearly did the better and more interesting pieces stand in relief against a background of unsuccessful or workmanlike and uninspired pieces - though there were a number of borderline cases.

Organising the selection was more difficult. The very range and variety of Southwell's work and the lack of any chronological thread upon which to string the poems inevitably makes it a series of discrete sections. In default of any obvious order, I have followed that of Nancy Brown's edition with two exceptions. I have treated the poem 'The Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter' immediately following the "Sequence..." because of their similarity of style and subject; and I have treated 'Sinnes Heavie Loade' and 'Christs Bloody Sweat' at the end, thus providing a fitting culmination and climax; for if I were



pressed to make the invidious choice of one poem to illustrate Southwell's divine wit and passionate devotion, I would choose this latter poem.

2.0

The Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ.

Although the sequence consists of fourteen poems on various mysteries of the Virgin and Christ, because of its homogeneity of style and lack of development, I have attempted an intensive formal description, rather than an extensive interpretation or paraphrase, in order to elicit the common pattern or formula to which each of the the poems of the sequence conforms.

In the terminology of his contemporaries, the poems would be described as sonnets. In its looser application this term was taken to describe shorter poems corresponding to the genre of epigram in Latin and Greek; and epigram might be a more accurate generic description.(14) The poems have two defining characteristics of the epigram: brevity, and a particular relationship to the subject. Strictly, of course, they are too long, since, as Possevino points out five couplets was regarded as the maximum permissible for the epigram.(15) This limit, however, is not applicable to many of the epigrams of the Anthology, and was inappropriate to the vernacular which in general was less concise than Latin. During this period it fell into abeyance even in Neo-Latin poetry - possibly through the dual influence of the Anthology and of vernacular poetry.

In addition to brevity, the defining characteristic of the epigram lies in its relation to its subject, a relation suggested by the literal sense of the term as inscription, commonly attached to a statue or picture. For example, the epigrams of Bidermann (a leading Jesuit epigrammatist of the early seventeenth-century) are commentaries on supposed pictures though no pictures are included with

the text.(16) Indeed, it would have been hardly necessary for Bidermann to have had specific paintings in mind since the subjects and the manner in which they should be treated by painters were so well established that their pictorial representation could be readily imagined.

The same is true of Southwell's sequence which at several points evokes the imaginary pictures to which his poems are commentary:

With Pilgrim foote, up tyring hils she trod,  
But doubtles heavenly Quires attendant were,  
( 'The Visitation', ll.3, 9)

This sacred dew let angels gather up,  
Such dainty drops best fit their nectared cup.  
( 'His Circumcision', ll.11-12)

Their crowns, their robes, their traine they set aside  
When Gods poor cottage, clouts, and crew they see,  
( 'The Epiphanie', ll.15-16)

Gemm to her worth, spouse to her love ascendes,  
Prince to her throne, Queene to her heavenly kinge,  
Whose court with solemne pompe on her attends,  
And Quires of Saintes with greeting notes do singe.  
Earth rendreth upp her undeserved praye,  
Heaven claymes the right and beares the prize away.  
( 'The Assumption of our Lady', ll.13-18)

Painters and poets thought of themselves as realists of the natural and the supernatural. They painted the heavenly choirs of hovering angels into their pictures because "doubtles heavenly Quires attendant were". The painter transcribed the sacred scene as it had been set up by God, and his art was a mirror image of divine art. The sacred epigram, then, may be seen as a set of epigrammatic inscriptions attached to divine pictures. In a poem most probably intended for, but not finally included in the sequence Southwell describes the Virgin as "A glorious temple wrought with secret art" ('Praesentatio B.Virginis' l.1), and in 'The Visitation' he writes of the Virgin that she "heavenlie stile with handmaids toile acquaints". 'Stile' refers, in the first place to her titles,

Proclaimed Queene and mother of a God,  
The light of earth, the soveraigne of Saints...  
(11.1-2)

but it also refers to the heavenly 'stylist' who has given her these titles and whose art is the source of sacred history.(17) His style is literally heavenly, the original and perfect high style of the three divisions of style; high, middle and low. Southwell is touching on a paradox of Sacred art, that it must appear to violate rhetorical decorum by treating of subject matter - "handmaids toile", the Passion, and so on - which in terms of classical rhetoric would be appropriate to the low style.

The character of Southwell's sequence is determined, both negatively and positively, by its relation to this pre-existing sacred history. By negatively I mean that it is circumscribed within limits set by the subject; it has a limited and subordinate role. By positively, I mean that it derives its character from the supposed character of Divine art.

As to limitations, the epigram is essentially an anonymous impersonal genre, filled by and circumscribed by the subject. Possevino says of 'emblems' - and emblem poems are a sub-genre of epigram, 'emblem' being used, according to Possevino, as a metonymy for the epigram or song in which the emblem itself is displayed - that there should subsist between the text and the image a similar proportion to that subsisting between the soul and the body.(18) That is, that they should form a complementary unity. It follows that the epigram should only utter such sentiments as complement its subject. In the subordination of the epigram lies the explanation for the difference between the expression of feeling in the "Sequence..." and, for example, in 'Saint Peters Complaint'. In the Sequence exclamatory expressions of feeling are not intended to declare the feelings of the speaker - which is the case in 'Saint Peters Complaint' - or to affect the reader, so much as to point some aspect of the subject. In the

following lines they are integral points of the conceit:

Joy in the rising of our Orient starre,  
( 'Her Nativity', 1.1)

Weepe living thinges, of life the mother dyes,  
( 'The death of our Ladie', 1.1)

Further because the reader is understood to be familiar with the scene which forms the subject, the epigram need only allude to, and not fully realise, the sacred picture. It refers to events or gives descriptive touches, but these are essentially metonymic evocations of episodes which the poem does not aim to present in their completeness. Rather the poem is concerned to draw out the divine conceits of theology and typology which are implicit in the subject. As Mario Praz says, differentiating between the emblem (and the emblematic epigram) and the epigram:

Emblems are...things (representations of objects) which illustrate a conceit; epigrams are words (a conceit) which illustrate objects...The two are therefore complementary.(19)

Thus far I have discussed the limitations of the sequence, Now let us turn to the poems themselves to see how they imitate the 'heavenly style' and 'secret art' of sacred history.

Sacred history is a work of 'high artifice' and when Renaissance writers wished to characterise artifice they tend to cite such crafts as embroidery, jewellery, inlay, or mosaic, which also furnished analogies for literary style. Thus jewellery in which strands of precious metal are woven in symmetrical patterns to form settings for precious stones was commonly used as an analogy for poetry in which the syntax, drawn into patterns was the setting for the 'flowers' or 'gems' of various kinds of trope. And indeed perhaps the most important feature of Southwell's sequence is that it is such a 'curious frame' of pattern and trope.

Although for convenience I treat syntactical figures separately

from other figures of speech, ideally they ought to be taken together.  
For example in the following stanza

Beholde the father, is his daughters sonne:  
The bird that built the nest, is hatched therein:  
The olde of yeares, an houre hath not out runne:  
Eternall life, to live doth now beginne.  
The word is dumme: the mirth of heaven doth weepe:  
Might feeble is: and force doth faintly creepe.  
(The Nativitie of Christ', ll.1-6)

the skilfully varied parallelism of the syntax is an integral feature of the conglobatio which presents the Nativity as an almost inexhaustible source of paradoxes.

But to take syntax separately, the syntactical patterns most commonly found are those Croll found to characterise Euphuism: isocolon (equality of members), parison (parallelism of structure), and paromoion (likeness of sound, usually between words in the same positions in parisonic members). The essential feature of the syntax of Southwell's poetry, like that of Euphuistic prose, is "vocal, or oral pattern".(20) These features combine in what is perhaps the most ubiquitous and characteristic syntactical scheme of Renaissance poetry, carmen correlativum (or, to use the term favoured by Curtius, versus rapportati). (21) This takes several forms, but it might perhaps best be characterized as the turning of a series of parallel statements into a periodic structure which retains the order and grammatical structure of its components. a series of statements strung together thus:

O dying soules, behold your living spring:  
O dasled eyes, behold your sonne of grace:  
Dull eares attend what word this word doth bring:  
Up heavie hartes: withjoye your joye embrace.  
From death, from darke, from deafnesse, from dispaire:  
This life, this light, this word, this joy repaires.  
(The Nativitie of Christ', ll.7-12)

Here the parallel statements of the first four lines are drawn together in the intertwined period of the last two lines.

'Correlation' has analogues in the music of the time (eg. the 'canon') as well as in the visual arts - for it is itself a kind of visual device to be linked with the 'shape' or 'figure' poems of the time; and it illustrates the high artifice to which poets aspired, and which was understood to be the mode of divine creation.

It is hardly surprising that 'correlation', the technical term for such schematic syntactical patterning, should also be appropriate - in a larger sense - to the content. For 'correspondence' a very similar concept, is the term used by Mazzeo in a famous essay to describe the world-picture that gave rise to the metaphysical conceit.(22) In the Renaissance 'conceit' was as much a matter of witty syntax as of witty comparison, in the same way that 'emblematic' referred to the skill of inlay or mosaic as well as to the images portrayed in such a medium.

Orchestrated by a syntax which emphasises parallelism and inter-relationship, the content of Southwell's sequence is a brilliant profusion of what might be termed sacred conceits: puns, word-plays, paradoxes, hyperboles, conceits, and impreses, which are sanctioned by Church tradition.

Of word-plays depending on repetition of words we might cite the third stanza of 'The Nativitie of Christ' where 'gift' or its derivatives is used ten times in six lines, "This gift doth here the gevee given bestow:"; or the first line of 'The Presentation' "To be redeemed the worlds Redeemer brought / Two silly turtle doves...". Of puns we may cite "This easie rate doth sound not drowne thy praise"; or, of the slaughter of the Innocents, "With open throats and silent mouths you sing...". In a sense it is wrong to take the other devices - paradox, hyperbole, conceit, imprese - separately since they each emphasise a different aspect of the same kind of theological or typological truth. Thus, "Wife did she live, yet virgin did she die", emphasises paradoxicality. "By maryes death mankind an orphan is..."

is hyperbolical. Yet the two are variations on comparable mysteries. The difference between 'conceit' and imprese is a matter of length, conceit being properly applied to the more sustained figure of comparison, for example:

The Patriarchs and Prophets were the flowers,  
Which Time by course of ages did distill,  
And cul'd into this little cloud the showers,  
Whose gracious drops the world with joy shall fil,  
Whose moisture supplenth every soule with grace  
And bringeth life to Adams dying race.  
( 'Her Nativity', 11.7-12)

Imprese are brief mottoes or titles, as in the series:

For God on earth she is the royall throne,  
The chosen cloth to make his mortall weede,  
The quarry to cut out our corner stone,  
Soile ful of fruit, yet free from mortall seede,  
For heavenly flowre shee is the Jesse rod,  
The child of man, the parent of a god.  
(11.13-18)

The extent to which the conceitedness of these poems is, as it were, a divination of divine wit is shown by the following which consists of sound theological statements with no mixture of the figurative in the sense of simile or metaphor:

Four only wights bred without fault are namde  
And al the rest conceived were in sinne,  
Without both man and wife was Adam framde,  
Of man, but not of wife did Eve beginne,  
Wife without touch of man Christs mother was,  
Of man and wife this babe was bred in grace.  
( 'The Virgine Maries Conception', 11.13-18)

Yet it is clearly 'figurative' in its patterning of the syntax. The syntax brings out by parallelism and chiasmus the inverted typological relationship of Adam and Eve on the one hand, and of Christ and Mary on the other. This can be shown schematically thus:

Adam	male	without	father or mother
Eve	female	with	father without mother
Christ	male	without	father with mother

Mary       female       with       father and mother

The vast majority of Southwell's conceits are drawn from Sacred history or Church tradition and are regarded as transcriptions of divine art, as being literally true. The 'Metaphysical' conceit tends to be tongue-in-cheek and employed in sophisticated argument. The nearest Southwell comes to the sophisticated conceit of the Metaphysicals is in the following stanza:

Man altered was by sinne from man to beast:  
Beastes foode is haye, haye is all mortall flesh:  
Now God is flesh, and lies in Manger prest:  
As haye, the brutest sinner to refresh.  
O happie fielde wherein this fodder grew,  
Whose tast, doth us from beasts to men renew.  
( 'The Nativitie of Christ', ll.19-24)

Here the school logic and the conceit (God is hay) are a playful and humorous decoration to what is taken to be the literal truth. As in 'New Heaven, New Warre'

Come Raphaell, this Babe must eate  
Provide our little Tobie meate.  
(ll.11-12)

the playful humour is appropriate to the nativity scene.

3.0

'Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter'.

The poem is similar in genre and style to the poems of the sequence and much that was said of that is relevant here. There is the same impersonality and subordination to the subject, and a comparable attempt to create an analogue of the heavenly style of the divine author with a glittering variety of conceits and syntactical patterns.

There is however a major difference in the greater degree of amplification of the poem. The explanation of this would seem to lie in the controversial nature of the subject. Southwell was impelled, since he was addressing a partly hostile audience to make his poem



didactic and polemical: to teach Catholic doctrine, to defend it, and to impugn its opponents.

The poem can be divided into three sections. In the first three stanzas there is a brief account of the Last Supper which is applicable also to the Mass. In the next four stanzas the Eucharist is praised as a sum of "all that can both sence and soule rejoyce". At this point the poem becomes more controversial, attacking those who fail to see the virtue of the Mass which is too high a mystery for human wit. Man must accept it with "sounde and silent faith". The remaining stanzas explore various logical objections to the Catholic doctrine which is shown to be consistent with both the extent and manner of operation of divine power. In conclusion the poet rests the case on God's power of creation and 'alteration' as seen in Biblical miracles.

Since, in comparison with the sequence, the extended articulation of an argument is the most salient feature of the poem, I will trace the course of the argument of a part the poem, to illustrate how it combines with the other stylistic features familiar from the sequence.

At the end of the third section in stanza three are the lines

Though sences faile, yet faith is not deceiv'd.  
And if the wonder of the worke be newe,  
beleive the work because his worde is trewe.  
(11.16-18)

The main point of these lines, that sense and reason are inadequate to comprehend the Eucharist which must be accepted in faith, is held in reserve for the polemical close of the poem. It is the final word "trewe" that supplies the connective with the next stanza, and section:

Here truth beleefe, beleefe inviteth love,  
So sweete a truth love never yett enjoy'd...  
(11.19-20)

From accepting the truth of the doctrine flows all that can please the

various aspects of the human personality. Stanza six lists the delights of the senses - eyes, ears, taste, scent, touch - to be found in the Mass. Stanza seven lists the delights of the soul - wit, will, memory - and sums up the praise of the sacrament in the line: "Here all that can both sence and soule rejoyce". Now the poet turns to polemic, impugning the opponents of the Mass. The link word is 'all':

And if to all, all this it do not bringe,  
The fault is in the men, not in the thinge.  
(11.41-42)

The following stanza amplifies and illustrates this point with various analogies to show how something may be the case and yet denied: "Though blynde men see no light, the sunne doth shine". Unbelievers, he suggests, are deceived by diabolic "veyles" because they rely on their own senses and intellect rather than the word of God. Thus stanza eight ends

The best still to the bad doth worke the worste,  
Things bredd to blisse do make them more accurst.  
(11.47-48)

"Best" supplies the partiular link word to the next stanza, though the sequence of thought is clear enough:

The Angells eyes whome veyles cannot deceive  
Might best disclose that best they do descerne,  
Man must with sound~~e~~ and silent faith receive  
More than they can by sence or reason lerne:  
Gods powre our proofes, his workes our witt excede,  
The doers might is reason of his deede.  
(11.49-54)

We have now returned to the notion of the inadequacy of sense and reason, touched on but not developed in stanza three. The remainder of the poem details various ways in which the Mass contradicts human sense or reason. These apparent contradictions are a consequence of human limitation, and the poem gives a series of analogies in terms of which they may be partially understood and accepted:

One soule in man is all in everye parte,  
One face at once in many mirrhors shynes,  
One fearefull noyse doth make a thowsand start,  
One eye at once of countlesse thinges defynes:  
If proofes of one in many nature frame,  
God may in straunger sort performe the same.  
(11.73-78)

Biblical precedents are also cited:

If Adam framed was of slymye claye,  
Bredd may to Christes most sacred flesh be wrought.  
He may do this that made with mighty hande  
Of water wyne, a snake of Moyses wande.  
(11.87-90)

Though this final section is didactic and polemical in its expression and defence of specifically Catholic doctrines, it is also more poetically an exercise in 'wonderful' paradox and conceit illustrating the divine wit.

An interesting feature of the section that we have looked at is the parallel and contrast, more or less sustained, of sense and soul, or sense and reason, that may be discerned in the following lines:

Here all that can both sence and soule rejoyce: (1.40)

and

Men must with sounde and silent faith receive  
More then they can by sence or reason lerne:  
(11.51-52)

It is as if it were the very excess of ingenuity and sensuous sweetness in the Mass which at once is the reason for its delight and for human incapacity to comprehend it: doubt and delight having the same cause, and that cause - excess - being a divine attribute. The intellectual and sensuous excess flowing from the powerful wit of God is a feature that Southwell attempts to embody in his poem.

That the 'style' of the Mass was seen by Southwell in terms of literary style, which he tried to emulate, is shown by the several points in the poem which use the figure of literary composition:

And if the wonder of the worke be newe,  
Beleive the worke because his worde is trewe.  
(11.17-18)

In summ here is all in a summ expressd,  
Of much the most, of every good the best.  
(11.29-30)

Gods powre our proofes, his workes our witt exceede,  
(1.53)

What god as auctour made he alter may,  
(1.85)

Given Southwell's propensity for punning, it seems probable that a pun on 'aulter' and 'alter' is intended: the Mass being, quite literally, an alteration. The wonder and novelty that Southwell attributes to the Mass were precisely the qualities that poetic theorists demanded of poetic wit. The wit of God however differs from profane wit in the literal truth of its creations. Similarly Southwell's wonderful and novel-seeming conceits are also intended to be literally true. The creation of the Mass is presented, as it were, as a rhetorical process of concentration and summing up, a process mirrored in stanzas six and seven by the systematic enumeration of the senses and mental faculties and their proper goods. The quotation from stanza nine implies that while the works of God's wit are greater than, and cannot be fully comprehended by, human wit, nevertheless they are of similar kinds; and that no amount of human wit can be 'excessive' in seeking to express or imitate the works of God.

The same principles that inform the divine creation of the Mass, inform Southwell's poem. Southwell's rhetorical method of showing excess is amplification. Thus the second part of the poem consists of expolitio or elegant variation on the notion of 'the sum of all that is best'; and the third part is a set of paradoxes that illustrate the logical and physical contradictions of the Mass:

A body is endew'd with ghostly rightes  
(1.55)

The god of hoastes in slender hoste doth dwell,

(1.61)

Whole may his body be in smallest breadd,  
(1.67)

The rhetorical means by which Southwell treats of the delights on the one hand, and the paradoxes of the eucharist on the other, are remarkably similar:

To ravishe eyes here heavenly bewtyes are,  
To winne the eare sweete musucks sweetest sound,  
To lure the taste the Angells heavenly fare,  
To sooth the sent divine perfumes abounde,  
To please the touch he in our hartes doth bedd,  
Whose touch doth cure the dephe, the dumm, the dedd.

Here to delight the witt trewe wisdome is,  
To wooe the will of every good the choise,  
For memory a mirrhoe shewing blisse,  
Here all that can both sence and soule rejoyce:  
(11.31-40)

A comparable construction, a piling up of contradictions, is characteristic of the stanzas dealing with the mystery of God's work:

A body is endew'd with ghostly rightes,  
A natures worke from natures law is free,  
In heavenly sunne life hidd eternall lightes,  
Lightes cleare and nere yet them no eye can see,  
Dedd formes a never dyinge life do shroude,  
A boundlesse sea lyes in a little cloude.  
(11.55-60)

In the intellectual exposition of the mysteries, the same amplificatory parallelism, and multiplication of analogies, is used:

God present is at once in everye place,  
Yet god in every place is ever one,  
So may there be by giftes of ghostly grace  
One man in many roomes yett filling none.  
Sith Angells may effects of bodyes shewe,  
God Angells giftes on bodyes maye bestowe.  
(11.79-84)

This parallelism of sense and soul is characteristic of the multiple interlocking symmetries of the poem; and chiefly of the

correspondences between divine and human art, and between syntax and sense.

4.0

The Nativity poems.

The group of Nativity poems illustrates the general principle that Southwell's work is remarkable for its variety, and particularly for the extent to which his work consists of unique examples of specific types of poem - a feature most unusual in the Renaissance. Two of the poems are particularly outstanding and would be essential to any representative anthology selection of his best work: 'New Heaven, New Warre', and 'The Burning Babe'.

'New Heaven, New Warre' is notable for a Marvellian neatness and humour in the handling of the diminutive octosyllabic line. The lines are scaled to suit the subject, and the chiming and sometimes humorously-bathetic rhymes give an effect of childlike simplicity, as well as emphasising the two paradoxes of the poem: first, that Christ is an embodiment of heaven on earth; and second, that the weak crying child is the conqueror of Satan:

The same you saw in heavenly seate,  
Is he that now sucks Maries teate;  
(11.19-20)

or,

All hell doth at his presence quake,  
Though he himselfe for cold doe shake:  
(11.27-28)

It has been argued that the two sections represent two separate poems, but this seems unlikely.(23) It is the only use of this metre in Southwell's poetry, and the whole poem is stylistically homogeneous. Moreover, the second section might be seen to refer to - and hence to follow from - the earlier section with the opening words

of the fifth stanza, "This little Babe...". It seems more reasonable to conclude that it is a single poem of loosely connected sections, using symmetrical partition of the poem as in all the longer poems.

The method of the poem can be illustrated by quoting from the second part of the poem, which corresponds to the second part of the title, 'New Warre'. The first stanza (that is, stanza five of the whole poem) states the subject of the poem: that the weak, defenceless infant is a warrior against Satan, an idea repeated in three variations:

This little Babe so few days olde,  
Is come to ryfle sathans folde;  
All hell doth at his presence quake,  
Though he himselfe for cold doe shake:  
For in this weake unarmed wise,  
The gates of hell he will surprise.  
(ll.25-30)

The rest of the poem wittily and playfully elaborates the martial analogy:

With teares he fights and winnes the field,  
His naked breast stands for a shield;  
His battring shot are babish cryes,  
His Arrowes lookes of weeping eyes,  
His Martiall ensignes colde and neede,  
And feeble flesh his warriors steede...  
(ll.31-36)

Marvell obtains a comparable effect in 'Upon Appleton House':

Some to the breach against their Foes  
Their Wooden Saints in vain oppose.  
Another bolder stands at push  
With their old Holy-Water Brush.  
While the disjointed Abbess threads  
The gingling Chain-shot of her Beads.  
But their lowd'st Cannon were their Lungs;  
And sharpest Weapons were their Tongues.  
(ll.249-256)

On its own this is slight evidence for Marvell's being influenced by Southwell, but taken in conjunction with other echoes, it is more persuasive.

'The Burning Babe'

The fact that 'The Burning Babe' is Southwell's most famous poem is in part a matter of chance which has had unfortunate results in the selection of his poems for anthologies. It is only so in part, however, for if Jonson's remark had not survived, the poem would still need to be included among Southwell's most interesting and successful poetry, though it is extremely unlikely that it would then have been singled out as "certainly the best".(24)

It is, however, a unique poem, not only in Southwell's work but in English poetry as a whole. One would argue that its success is a matter of triumphant oddity in fusing elements not found in combination in the rest of his work, and which might be considered mutually anachronistic.

The metre of the poem is the unsophisticated and old-fashioned measure of fourteeners, and the genre of the poem is the 'vision' as it had survived from the Middle Ages in, for example, The Mirror for Magistrates. An example by Surrey is printed in Tottel:

Layd in my quiet bed, in study as I were,  
I saw within my troubled head, a heape of thoughtes appere...(25)

Southwell revivifies this old-fashioned, formulaic style of writing with a vivid and precise setting:

As I in hoarie Winters night  
Stoode shivering in the snow,  
Surprised I was with sodaine heate,  
Which made my hart to glow;  
  
And lifting up a fearfull eye,  
To view what fire was neare,  
A pretty Babe all burning bright  
Did in the ayre appeare...  
(ll.1-8)

It is this quality of reportage that has led many readers to view the poem as an account of an actual visionary or hallucinatory experience. Indeed the phrase "Surprised...with sodaine heate" does seem the



authentic description of a moment of powerful and abrupt emotion; but what would seem to make this less likely is the close relationship - and indebtedness - of the poem to contemporary devotional meditations.

Martz has drawn attention to the resemblance of the poem to certain meditations of the Jesuit Puente.(26) To this one would add the clear link that the poem has with the Hundred Meditations on the Love of God which was translated, or at least transcribed, by Southwell. It seems most probable that the phrase "scorched with excessive heate" derives from the following:

The strong reflection that the beames of the sun do make upon a place, the more vehemently do they scorch. Now the beames of the fire of Thy divine sun, beating right in the heart of God, and reflecting from thence upon men, what a vehement and exceeding heat must they needs cast...

O my good Jesu...I see thee wholly inflamed in love, and with millions of flames of fire, and innumerable stripes as it were, Thou givest battle to my soul...with the fire...which is Thy holy love...(27)

A particularly striking feature of the poem, which is found also in Puente's meditation (albeit not in the Hundred Meditations on the Love of God), is that the child is seen fore-suffering the Passion. This, which seems odd to modern non-Catholic readers, is not odd in the context of sixteenth-century belief and meditative practice. Catholics stressed the divine power and omniscience of Christ; and hence, for example, the entirely voluntary character of the Passion, or the fact that Christ had a particular knowledge of every sin committed in history.

In addition to its sources in the literature and practice of meditation, Peter Daly has argued persuasively with copious illustration that the "striking imagery of the poem" can only "properly be understood in the light of the emblematic tradition".(28) Just as Elizabeth Cook draws a connection between meditation and figure poems, so Daly draws a connection between meditation and the emblem.(29) One would suggest that, in fact, the connection should be

made between devotion and that 'conceited' art - imitating divine art - which poets believed was the proper medium of devotion.

Seen in this light, the closest parallels with 'The Burning Babe' would be poems such as 'Christs Bloody Sweat' and 'Saint Peters Complaint'. The former poem also echoes Estella and, like 'The Burning Babe', uses the emblematic paradox of Christ being both fire and blood. The latter poem uses the conceit of the heart as an alchemical furnace:

Still in the limbeck of thy dolefull breast,  
These bitter fruits that from thy sinnes do grow:  
For fuel, selfe accusing thoughtes be best,  
Use feare, as fire, the coales let penance blow.  
And seeke none other quintessence but teares,  
That eyes may shed what entred at thine eares.  
( 'Saint Peters Complaint', ll.457-462)

a version of which is also found in 'A Vale of Teares':

Let former faults be fuell of the fire,  
For grieve in Limbecke of thy heart to still  
Thy pensive thoughts, and dumps of thy desire,  
And vapoure teares up to thy eies at will.  
(ll.69-72)

The image of the alchemical furnace indicates how far the process of meditation, combining the powers of memory, intellect, feeling, and will to produce the "quintessence" of penitent tears, is a matter of conscious human art. It is startling to realise the place accorded art and intellect (represented by the technology of alchemy) in producing penitence. We may validly extend this comment to cover the fusion of wit and passion in certain of Southwell's poems; and it would not be unreasonable to read it also as describing the creative literary process of fusion of diverse elements that one finds in a poem such as 'The Burning Babe'. In its use of an unsophisticated and old-fashioned metre, the poem belongs with a group of poems that are, with this sole exception, uniformly uninspired.(30) In its adaptation of the substance of religious meditation which is treated in an

emblematic or conceited manner, it belongs with 'Christs Bloody Sweat', 'Sinnes Heavie Loade', and 'Saint Peters Complaint'.

If one were to speculate about this unique poem, one would suggest that it belongs with the second group of poems relatively late in Southwell's career, and that like some of the poets of The Phoenix Nest he was deliberately using an old fashioned measure for effect, rather than, as earlier, as a standard metrical system.(31)

5.0

'Josephs Amazement'.

Although I stressed at the beginning of this chapter that as far as possible my selection would avoid quirkiness, at least one of my choices might be thought bizarre; that of 'Josephs Amazement' which has been generally disliked by previous critics. Martz describes it as "incredibly bad"; Brown, as "unusually prolonged and tedious"; Scallan (paraphrasing Brown), as "uncharacteristically rambling and dull."(32)

These critics have missed the point of the poem as a dramatic discourse in which Joseph is torn between conflicting emotions, and is left deliberately in suspense. It is the apparently irreverent portrayal of Joseph believing himself cuckolded by an adulterous Mary, and the fact that Southwell does not intervene explicitly to set the record straight, that these critics object to. However, I would argue that the value of the poem resides precisely in its apparent dramatic objectivity and lack of resolution.

The 'maze' in which Joseph is lost is very similar to the situation of the ordinary Catholic, torn between love and loyalty to the Church and apparently-certain proofs that it was corrupt:

Yet in this seeming lustre, seeme to lie  
Such crimes for which the law condemns to die.  
(11.53-54)

These lines might be read as a veiled expression of the attitude of the ordinary wavering Catholics towards a priest such as Southwell whom, of course, the law condemned to die. The irony of the poem is that just as Joseph was deceived in his apparently-reasonable belief that Mary was false, so the Catholic who harboured apparently-reasonable doubts of the integrity of the Church was deceived, and with less justification. The 'maze' in which Joseph is 'amazed' is similar to the 'labyrinth' or 'entangling net' of the world that we find in other poems, and which is the 'night' of the mind, shutting out the light of truth.(33) Through dramatic irony Southwell shows understanding of the dilemma of the ordinary person 'amazed' in the world, and at the same time exorcises that amazement by revealing the situation in its spiritual truth.

Although there are touches of dramatic irony in the 'Poema de assumptione B.V.M.', its fullest development required the situation of Protestant England where, in the Catholic view, false appearances usurped the place of truth; while truth had, as it were, gone into hiding and could only be communicated covertly. To illustrate by reference to Macbeth which uses irony for a similar end, the poem is a code in which the values of 'fair' and 'foul' have been switched. Mary seems foul but is fair, while the fair-seeming law which condemns her is in truth foul. Seen in this light 'Josephs Amazement' is revealed as an important stage in Southwell's development towards his masterpiece, 'Saint Peters Complaint'.

6.0

'A Vale of Teares'.

'A Vale of Teares' has long been recognised as one of Southwell's most impressive shorter poems. It was the first poem to be reprinted after the obscurity that spanned the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and more recently Janelle has described it as Southwell's "most

valuable composition".(34)

The allegorical landscape is a common Renaissance set piece, but 'A Vale of Teares' is remarkable for its sustained vividness of description and emotional power. The first stanza implicitly states the significance of the landscape:

A vale there is enwrapt with dreadfull shades,  
Which thicke of mourning pines shrouds from the sunne,  
Where hanging cliffs yeld short and dumpish glades,  
And snowie floud with broken streames doth runne,  
(ll.1-4)

The various metaphors in these lines convey that it is a place of darkness close to hell, full of danger, 'shrouded' as if dead in being cut off from the life and light of God, a place of brief respites between precipitous dangers, a place of tears. These metaphorical connotations turn the vale into an allegory of the world as purgatory; that is, as it is experienced by a penitent soul. It also fits Southwell's own life in Elizabethan England. The power of the poem largely derives from the paradoxical 'turn' that it is in this dreadful place, apart from heaven, that we should desire to live. In part it is chosen - created by an effort of will which turns its fearful horror into the grace of penitent sorrow:

And in the horror of this fearfull quier,  
Consists the musicke of this dolefull place:  
All pleasant birds their tunes from thence retire,  
Where none but heavy notes have any grace.  
(ll.17-20)

'Grace' is used punningly in a theological sense for the religious virtue of persecuted Catholics as also in:

Here christall springs crept out of secret vaine,  
Strait find~~e~~ some envious hole that hides their grace.  
Here seared tufts lament the want of raine,  
There thunder wracke gives terror to the place.  
(ll.49-52)

The repeated 'here' might be taken as locating the vale of tears in

Elizabethan England. The "christall springs" unite the sense of penitent teares with that of the grace that flows from the Catholic Church. Christ weeping in Gethsemane is described as "full spring...that streames... undrawne ...cleare brookes" while Peter, who stands for the Church, is described as "cleerest brooke".

7.0

'Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death' and 'Lifes Death Loves Life'.

A small number of poems - in which one would include 'Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death', 'I Die Alive', and 'Lifes Death, Loves Life' - adapt the subject matter of early Latin poems such as 'Elegia VIII' and 'In renovationem votorum' so well to the Elizabethan song that they must be counted among Southwell's successes.

Martz is perceptive in singling out 'Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death' as the best, though his comments on the poem are generally unhelpful. His description of the poem as a "parody" which blends "all the best devices of the late Elizabethan love song" is misleading since the poem is not a parody and the devices the poem uses are largely those of the Latin poetry.(35)

To make the poem fit the Procrustean bed of meditative structure he contrasts the "intellectual" development of the first five stanzas with the "affective close" in stanzas 6 and 7.(36) It is a case, however, of seeing what he wants to see, for no dispassionate reader would conclude that that the first five stanzas are more intellectual or less affective than the last two; or that they display the development to which he refers.

The first five stanzas ring the changes on the double meanings of life and death as they are used in a religious or an amatory context:

All that live, and not in God:  
Couch their life in deaths abod.

and,

One that lives by others breath,  
Dieth also by his death.  
(11.11-12)

The spiritual truth and the love-conceit are at one when the beloved is God. It is an indication of Southwell's subtle irony that he makes the Magdalen say more than she knows. A person might live by the breath, that is the spirit of Christ and at the same time participate in his Passion through any of the various forms of martyrdom. Mary is here unconsciously and prophetically referring to the gift of Christ's 'breath' at Pentecost.

These ideas, which are repeated in various forms in the first five stanzas are clearly expressed in the third which may stand as example:

O true life, sith thou hast left me,  
Mortall life is tedious.  
Death it is to live without thee,  
Death, of all most odious.  
Turne againe, or take me to thee,  
Let me die or live thou in me.  
(11.13-18)

The sixth and seventh stanzas significantly vary from the earlier ones:

O my soule, what did unloose thee  
From thy sweete captivitie?  
God, not I, did still possesse thee:  
His, not mine, thy libertie.  
O, too happie thrall thou wart,  
When thy prison, was his hart.  
  
Spitefull speare, that breakst this prison,  
Seate of all felicitie,  
Working thus, with double treason,  
Loves and lifes deliverie:  
Though my life thou drav'st away,  
Maugre thee my love shall stay.  
(11.31-42)

These stanzas handle the sensitive issue of Mary's transformation from

the sensual lover of Christ to the devoted Saint and Martyr. The death of Christ brings her close to despair; but it is also a liberation from a sinful and profane love. While Christ is alive her 'seat of felicity' is Christ's person as a locus of amatory delight. From this sweet captivity to mortal life and profane love, the spear liberates her and true love and life. This is the double sense of 'double' in double treason: that the spear defeats its own aim and liberates love and life from their carnal captivity.

'Lifes Death Loves Life' similarly rings the changes on various combinations of 'life', 'death', and 'love' in their various senses:

Who lives in love, loves least to live,  
And long delaies doth rue:  
If him he love by whom he lives,  
To whom all love is due.

. . .

Mourne therefore no true lovers death:  
Life onely him annoyas.  
And when he taketh leave of life,  
Then love beginnes his joyes.  
(ll.1-4, 29-32)

Obtrusive paronomasia and school logic have not endeared it to modern readers though it is at least as good a poem as the smoother, more melodic 'Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death'.

8.0

'At Home in Heaven'

'At Home in Heaven' is among the best three or four of the shorter poems. Martz is a perceptive judge of the poem's excellence, although some of his comments on the poem are in need of revision.

He uses the poem as an example of the influence of Ignatian meditation on poetic structure, analysing the poem in the following terms:

'At Home in Heaven', following the meditative method,



defines the theme tightly with the kind of dramatic, exclamatory opening that we may tend to associate with Donne or Herbert...With the theme firmly established, the 'understanding' pursues for three stanzas its proof of the soul's surpassing beauty: proof found in the love that God bears the soul, and in the Sacrifice he made to save it...With this proof of God's redeeming love before us, the fifth stanza then presents the cry of the 'affections' and the will in bold and simple phrases that provide a striking instance of how love-conventions may be turned into colloquy...The poem should end here, but unfortunately Southwell chooses to belabour the point for two additional and inferior stanzas; in fact he has already given one too many stanzas, for the sequence of the 'understanding' goes on too long.(37)

Certainly the poem does have a three-part structure whose divisions Martz correctly identifies. It does not, however, correspond to the account Martz gives of it as following a three-fold meditative method. The weakness of Martz's argument is in part revealed by his Procrustean desire to trim three stanzas from the poem to make it fit his account.

The opening question, "Faire soule, how long shall veyles thy graces shroud?", is ambiguous. In its primary sense it is an oblique expression of the soul's longing to escape from the mortal body and return to its true home in heaven. In a secondary sense it is a reproach to the soul for its attachment to the world.

The disposition of the remaining six stanzas follows from this ambivalence, giving a strong and simple structural pattern very different from Martz's account. The first three stanzas (2-4) praise the soul's true lover, Christ; the second three stanzas (5-7) dispraise any "mortall wight" who may be Christ's rival for the soul's affections. The speaker of the poem acts as Christ's advocate to the soul wavering between love of Christ and love of man; giving equal length to its praise of one and dispraise of the other.

However, as a praise of God as the soul's lover, the poem is decidedly odd. God's exploits and suffering in his wooing of the human soul are offered not so much as motives for the soul to love God, but rather as proofs of the soul's beauty, and as reasons why the

soul should love itself rather than any "mortall wight":

O soule do not thy noble thoughtes abase  
To lose thy loves in any mortall wight:  
Content thy eye at home with native grace,  
Sith God him selfe is ravisht with thy sight.  
(11.25-28)

Every stanza of the poem without exception is a praise of the beauty of the soul; and what is proposed throughout the poem as the proper object of the soul's affections is itself. Love of God is seen as a necessary consequence of the soul's love of itself, since the soul is a lesser version of God. Through love of its own "ghostly" native grace, it loves God as the source of spiritual beauty and grace:

O soule out of thy selfe seeke God alone:  
Grace more than thine, but Gods, the world hath none.  
(11.41-42)

9.0

'Looke Home'.

The godlike beauty and power of the soul 'exiled' from its 'rightful' and 'native' home in heaven is the subject of the companion poem of 'At Home in Heaven', 'Looke Home', which is one of Southwell's most interesting and witty poems. The two poems together are a clear case of the influence of Neoplatonic and Hermetic philosophy. Of course Southwell is orthodox: he draws attention to the creaturely status of man, and his defective will which makes him incapable unaided of achieving his full potential. These qualifications having been made, the poem reflects the Hermetic conception of man as "the reflection of the divine mens" capable by force of intellect and creative power of becoming divine.(38) Moreover, the method of the poem follows that of Hermetic meditation, in which the adept "seems to reach the illumination through...contemplation of the cosmos as reflected in his own Nous or mens which separates out for him its divine meaning and

gives him a spiritual mastery over it, as in the familiar gnostic revelation or experience of the ascent of the soul...".(39)

That Hermetic meditation was a poetic 'topic' is shown by examples of its occurrence in Milton and Marvell. Thus in 'Il Penseroso' Milton writes of outwatching Hermes [Trismegistus]

to unfold  
What worlds or what vast regions hold  
The immortal mind that hath forsook  
Her mansion in this fleshly nook:  
(11.89-92)

While Marvell echoes Southwell in his poem 'The Garden':

Meanwhile the Mind, from pleasure less,  
Withdraws into its happiness:  
The mind, that Ocean where each kind  
Does streight its own resemblance find;  
Yet it creates, transcending these,  
Far other Worlds, and other Seas;  
(11.41-46)

This corresponds very closely to the sequence of thought, if not to the language, of the first stanza of Southwell's poem:

Retyred thoughts enjoy their owne delights,  
As beawtie doth in selfe beholding eye:  
Mans mind a myrrour is of heavenly sights,  
A breefe wherein all marvailles summed lye.  
Of fayrest formes, and sweetest shapes the store,  
Most gracefull all, yet thought may grace them more.  
(11.1-6)

In both poems the sequence of ideas is the same: the statement that such meditation is pleasurable is followed by the idea of the mind as a microcosm of the cosmos which in turn is followed by mention of the creative power of the mind over the material of the world. What makes it even more probable that there is a deliberate resemblance here is the fact that it would not be an isolated case.(40) It seems likely that Marvell read 'Looke Home' as an Hermetic poem; a circumstance which makes it the more likely that it was indeed an exercise in Christian Hermeticism.

The only limitation on human intellectual and creative power, according to Southwell, is his defective will:

Of finest workes wit better could the state,  
If force of wit had equall power of will.  
(11.9-10)

Apart from his defective will he is an exact reflection of the divine nature. Thus he says of human wit: "Devise of man in working hath no end"; which is echoed in his characterisation of God's wit:

Mans soule of endles beauties image is,  
Drawne by the worke of endlesse skill and might:  
(11.13-14)

I read the final stanza as making cryptic references to the Incarnation.

All that he had his image should present,  
All that it should present he could afford:  
To that he could afford his will was bent,  
His will was followed with performing word.  
Let this suffice, by this conceive the rest,  
He should, he could, he would, he did the best.  
(11.19-24)

Primarily, of course, this refers to the 'framing' of the human soul by God. However man falls short of being a perfect image of God on account of his defective will and consequent corruption. But the feature of divine and human wit emphasised earlier was its capacity to improve on the works of nature or its own earlier attempts; an idea which is expressed no less than four times in twelve lines. The implication is that God would not leave man in his defective and corrupt condition, but like a witty author would take pains to revise and improve his first draft - a work in which man would be an active partner. Various points in the stanza suggest that Southwell may mean the Incarnation as well as the creation of man: the phrase "he could afford" suggests that there is a cost to God in this creation, cost being associated with the second rather than the first creation.

similarly the suggestion that God bends his will to this work implies the possibility of unwillingness, a possibility associated more with the Incarnation. One potentially serious objection to this reading is the use of 'frame' in the lines:

To frame Gods image as his worthes requirde;  
His might, his skill, his word, and will conspirde.  
(11.17-18)

'Frame, which would be appropriate to the creation of man, might be thought inappropriate to the creation of Christ; but, in fact, 'frame' is the very word Southwell uses to describe Christ in 'Saint Peters Complaint': 'All but one compound framde of perfect blisse'. Far from being an objection, the usage points to the accuracy of the reading. Lastly, the phrase "performing word" is reminiscent of the opening of John's Gospel in which Jesus is described as the Word.

That the references to the Incarnation are intended to be cryptic, that Southwell is wary how far Hermetic thought should be taken in identifying man with God, is indicated by the penultimate line - "Let this suffice, by this conceive the rest".

10.0

'Sinnes Heavie Loade'

As in the case of 'Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death', and 'At Home in Heaven', Martz shows himself a perceptive judge of the quality of 'Sinnes Heavie Loade', though his attempt to fit it to meditative structure is unconvincing.

Since it is the most important of the examples that he gives from Southwell's poetry of 'meditative stucture', and an important element of his overall argument, it is worth looking at his account in some detail. Thus, he analyses the structure of the poem in the following terms:

The first two stanzas...suggest the acts of composition and memory... a few touches of paradoxical analysis prepare the way for the operations of the understanding...Then, in the third stanza, begins the formal, theological analysis of the scene, continuing for four stanzas of elaborately argued paradox...And finally, in the last stanza, we have [a]...colloquy.(41)

He then goes on in a passage crucial to his argument to relate Southwell's style in this poem both to that of the Metaphysicals and to methods of religious meditation:

...every reader will perhaps have been struck by a phrase here, a line or two there, which holds a tantalizing prefiguration of the much greater poetical achievements of Donne and Herbert; but what I should like to stress...is the way the total movement...resembles, in its rudiments, the "intellectual, argumentative evolution" of Donne's or Herbert's poetry: the "strain of passionate, paradoxical reasoning which knits the first line to the last", and performs this knitting through close analysis and elaboration of concrete imagery...May it not be that all three poets are working, to some extent, under the influences of methods of meditation that led toward the deliberate evolution of a threefold structure of composition (memory), analysis (understanding), and colloquy (affections, will)?(42)

Martz's handling of the argument is curious. It would be hard to quarrel with the description of Southwell, Donne, and Herbert's poetry as characterised by "passionate, paradoxical reasoning". This is relatively safe ground. To infer from this that the poets are influenced by meditative method is unsafe, however; a fact Martz recognizes by posing it as a tentative and qualified hypothetical question: "may it not be...to some extent...?". Put like this the influence of meditative practice is undeniable. Having tentatively put forward this qualified assumption, Martz effectively goes on to belie his qualifications by confidently assuming its truth by attributing to the poets the "deliberate evolution of a threefold structure of composition..., analysis..., and colloquy...".

The division of the poem into three phases corresponding to composition of place, analysis, and colloquy, is central to his argument. How well does this division stand up? It is true that the

divisions noted by Martz mark turning points in the poem, but, I would argue, these do not have the significance Marts sees in them.

In the first place the whole poem is a colloquy since Christ is addressed throughout. It is true that the last stanza addresses a petition to Christ - a feature which makes it a distinct sub-unit of the poem - but it is not the case that it represents a distinct colloquy after meditation.

Similarly Marts rightly sees a turning point between the third and fourth stanzas, but wrongly sees this as a transition from composition of place to analysis. There is no difference of mode between the first and second sections. Rather what happens is a transition of subject-matter. The opening stanzas establish by hyperbolic conceits the weight of sin: heavier than the world, heavier almost than God can bear. The implication is that man is doomed to death and hell, unable to avoid or overcome sin and ineluctably bound to be punished for it. The answer, of course, to the despairing question with which this section ends -

Alas, if God himselfe sinke under sinne,  
What will become of man that dies therein?  
(ll.17-18)

- is, the redemption of man. The next three stanzas - and, it might be right to see here a deliberately symmetrical arrangement - deal with the redemption in very much the same style as the three earlier stanzas that dealt with sin.

One has comparable objections to Marts's literary-historical comments. Southwell's procedure in this poem is confident and successful; the poem is tightly organized and unified. And therefore it seems to be doing it less than justice to describe it as a "tamtalizing prefiguration of the much greater poetical achievements of Donne and Herbert".(43)

Moreover, whatever the likenesses between Southwell, and Donne

and Herbert, there is a radical difference. Tight organization, logical evolution are features of Southwell's poetry, but not "passionate reasoning" - the sophisticated, forensic pleadings that one finds in Donne or Herbert. The difference is crucial. Southwell's conceits, paradoxes, emblems, and so on, are very much the orthodoxies of traditional theology and piety. Thus the unfolding of a typological sequence - which one might term a divine conceit - in a poem by Southwell, has the character of a literal transcription of truth. For this reason it is true to say that Southwell is closer in some respects to ancient Christian poets such as Prudentius, and the Church Fathers, than he is to harbingers of modern sensibility such as Donne or Herbert.

I would argue that the germ of the poem, like that of 'Christs Bloody Sweat', is to be found in the Hundred Meditations of the Love of God. In a chapter dealing with Gethsemane we read that

Christ had a particular knowledge of all the sins of the world, past, present, and to come, and a particular heaviness for every one of them...(44)

Here, perhaps, is the doctrinal source of the pious idea of the ubiquity of Christ's look. In Gethsemane he could see, and suffered for, every sin and sinner in history; and as he sees, so he may be seen. Clearly such an idea, which predates the Jesuits, is heavily exploited in Ignatian meditation. It makes for dramatic immediacy both in religious rites, meditation, and art, since Christ sees us at the same time as he sees his disciples and we are onlookers with the disciples of his Passion.

In this context then Southwell's line

O Lord my sinne doth overcharge thy breast (l.1)

though wittily paradoxical, with the substitution of "thy" for the expected "my" is literally true; as is the notion that the weight of our sins was suffered by Christ who had a "particular heaviness for



every one of them". Christ, therefore, is crushed beneath a mass of sins, a paradox since in his role of God he sustains the universe. Sin, therefore, is heavier than the universe of which it is part. The paradox is expressed in the ambiguous lines

This Globe of earth doth thy one finger prop,  
The world thou doo'st within thy hand embrace.  
(11.7-8)

As God, Christ spins the earth on his finger or holds it in the palm of his hand. As the suffering, prostrate Christ his finger is propped up on the ground, and he clutches a handful of earth in his hand.

The first three stanzas, then, are epigrammatic variations on the paradox of God falling under the weight of sin. In all there are reminders of divine omnipotence and the scheme of redemption. And the reiteration of 'fall' drives home the point that God is suffering a 'fall' like that of man - that the Passion is related typologically to the Fall - in order to reverse it. The reversal of the Fall of man by the Fall of God is treated in the next three stanzas which deal with three particular Falls of God by which blessings are brought to man.

The three Falls are, successively, the Incarnation, the falling of Gethsemane - a typological synecdoche for the Passion - and the falling to earth of the elements of Christ and the sacraments - flesh, blood, and spirit - after the Passion.

These falls are seen, almost in erotic terms, as acts of love in which God and man, heaven and earth are reconciled.

First, flat thou fel'st, when earth did thee reced~~ve~~,  
In closet pure of Maries virgin brest;  
And now thou fall'st of earth to take thy leave,  
Thou kissest it as cause of thy unrest:  
O loving Lord that so doth love thy foe  
As thus to kisse the ground where he doth goe.  
(11.19-24)

Various modes of affection are suggested here. God impregnates Mary and is himself that with which Mary is pregnant. Christ takes his

leave of earth like a husband of a shrewish spouse. The closing couplet suggests the worship of the Petrarchan lover.

The notion in the following stanza of Christ being "prostrate now thy heaven our earth to blisse", and sealing "a peace with bleeding kisse", suggests a sexual embrace, a suggestion reinforced in the closing lines of the stanza:

For as of soules thou common Father art,  
So she is Mother of mans other part.  
(11.29-30)

There is a suggestion of a second creation born from the embrace of Christ and earth.

In the sixth stanza earth is seen as anticipating the Church in absorbing the elements - blood, spirit, and flesh - of Christ:

She shortly was to drink thy dearest blood,  
And yeeld thy soule a way to sathan s cave;  
She shortly was thy corse in tomb to shrowd,  
And with them all thy deitie to have:  
Now then in one thou joyntly yeeldest all,  
That severally to earth should shortly fall.  
(11.31-36)

The closing stanza, though cast in the form of a petition, recapitulates the sequence of the poem:

O prostrate Christ, erect my crooked minde, (1.37)

That is, the fall of Christ reverses the fall of man.

Lord let thy fall my flight from earth obtaine;  
Or if I still in earth must needes be shrinde,  
The Lord on earth come fall yet once againe:  
And eyther yeeld with me in earth to lie,  
Or else with thee to take me to the skie.  
(11.38-42)

The 'either/or' of these lines use the characteristic metaphysical 'turn' of argument in which the speaker, anticipating the rejection of his major petition, adds a minor petition as an alternative.

## 'Christs Bloody Sweat'

It is surprising that 'Christs Bloody Sweat' has passed largely unremarked. It is not listed by McDonald among the dozen commonly anthologised poems of Southwell. It is not included in any of the anthologies that we have seen. Only one critic singles it out for special mention, though largely missing the point. This neglect is all the more strange in view of the fact that Southwell is widely known as a forerunner of the Metaphysicals, and this poem is easily the poem in which he is closest to the Metaphysicals. Since it is not well known, and is a magnificent poem it may be quoted in full:

Christs Bloody Sweat

Fat soile, full spring, sweete olive, grape of blisse,  
That yeelds, that streams, that pours, that dost distil,  
Untild, undrawne, unstampt, untoucht of presse,  
Deare fruit, cleare brookes, fair oile, sweete wine at will:  
Thus Christ unforst prevents in shedding blood  
The whips, the thornes, the nailes, the speare, and roode.

He Pelicans, he Phenix fate doth prove,  
Whom flames consume, whom streames enforce to die,  
How burneth bloud, how bleedeth burning love?  
Can one in flame and streame both bathe and frie?  
How could he joine a Phenix fiery paines  
In fainting Pelicans still bleeding vaines?

Elias once to prove gods soveraigne powre  
By praire procur'd a fier of wondrous force  
That blood and wood and water did devoure,  
Yea stones and dust, beyonde all natures course:  
Such fire is love that fedd with gory blood  
Doth burne no lesse then in the dryest wood<sup>e</sup>.

O sacred Fire come shewe thy force on me  
That sacrifice to Christe I maye retorne,  
If withered wood for fuell fittest bee,  
If stones and dust, yf fleshe and blood will burne,  
I withered am and stony<sup>e</sup> to all good,  
A sacke of dust, a masse of fleshe and bloode.

It would hardly have seemed necessary to have offered any commentary on the literal sense of the poem, had not a previous writer misread it. Carolyn A. Schten asserts with some vigour that "there is nothing

within 'Christ's bloody sweat' to connect it with the moment of agony at Gethsemane".(45) Miss Schten is of course right when she sees the bread, water, oil, and wine that are Christ's elements in the opening stanza as referring to the sacraments of the church, but wrong when she denies that the poem has anything to do with Gethsemane. The bloody sweat is a metonymy for these sacramental gifts just as Gethsemane is a metonymy for the Passion. in the Hundred Meditations on the Love of God (which we may accept that Southwell wrote out, even if the style does not identify him as the actual translator), Christ in Gethsemane is portrayed as so burning with love and desire to benefit mankind that he sheds his 'bloody sweat' voluntarily out of impatience to complete his sacrifice.(46) Were this not the case, however, it is hard to see what else but the 'bloody sweat' of Gethsemane could be intended by the closing couplet of the first stanza:

Thus Christ unforced<sup>st</sup> prevents in shedding blood  
 The whips, the thornes, the nailes, the speare, and roode.  
 (11.5-6)

There is, moreover, no reason to doubt - as Miss Schten does - the authority of the title.

What is most arresting in the poem is its combination - to use Southwell's own phrase - of "art and devotion"; that is, of the artificial and the heartfelt, or of wit and passion.(47) It is almost as if the poem designedly employs a whole range of devices, some of which might more usually, in an expanded form, comprise poems in their own right. Thus the syntactical scheme of carmen correlativum used in the first stanza was taken as defining a specific sub-genre in which the pattern was sustained throughout a poem. The same applies to the emblematic second stanza, which could stand as an epigram upon a representation of a phoenix and a pelican. London Catholics did have such an object; a crucifix decorated with these and other birds.(48)

In the third and fourth stanzas the method changes yet again to the exposition of a 'typical' Old Testament episode prefiguring the fire of divine love which consumes Christ and which the protagonist prays will consume him in turn. Miss Schten makes the useful point that the situation of Elijah among the priests of Baal might be seen as parallel to that of the Catholic priest among Protestants. The fire of divine love inflaming the Catholic and drawing him to a voluntary sacrifice is a demonstration of the truth of the Catholic, and of the falsity of the Protestant faith.

Again, these two stanzas could stand as a self contained unit. All these aspects of poetic wit have the common feature of transcribing what might be called correlative patterns created in the world by divine wit. One way to view such patterns might be as a series of languages in which divine realities were signified or embodied. Thus Christ is represented by the sacramental elements; bread, water, oil, and wine. He is also represented by creatures of nature or folklore, such as the phoenix. The events of his life and the new order he inaugurates are foreshadowed by Old Testament types. The case of man and God is somewhat different since the relation of 'sign' and 'signified' becomes reciprocal: God is manlike, man godlike. By the Incarnation, transcendent witty order is united with human passion and suffering, and it is this union that one finds represented in the master figure of the poem which encapsulates the various features we have noted. This figure is the descent from the ornate and formal language of the opening to the 'down to earth' language of its close; "a sacke of dust, a masse of fleshe and bloode." The description of Christ in the opening stanza is a transfiguration of "a masse of fleshe and bloode" that the protagonist of the poem tacitly hopes to share: to be, as it were, changed from a mass into a Mass.

The evolution of the poem also enacts the descent from serene

transcendence to passionate involvement in bloody issues. The contemplative opening, whose 'embroidered' syntax 'covers' the paradoxical fact of Christ's suffering, is succeeded by the amazement and urgent questioning of the second stanza. The questions are resolved by the typological analogy, which shows the protagonist the way to follow Christ. Despite the fact that the poem resembles a series of epigrams, it has the effect of a flowing, forceful dramatic speech in which intellectual ingenuity combines with strong emotional pressure; and, I would argue that, allowing for changes in poetic technique, it can stand comparison with the best work of the Metaphysicals. It is a proof that Southwell's work is of intrinsic value, and not merely of historical interest.

## Chapter VII

### Conclusion

Writers on Southwell agree that there is a "fundamental harmony...between [his] life and his compositions".(1) According to Janelle his life and death were "a work of art of supreme beauty"; which is higher praise than he gives the literary work.(2) Scallon seconds Janelle's judgement, writing that "Southwell is a much more interesting subject of study as a man than as a literary artist" and that "his life was a better poem than any he wrote".(3)

The comparison of Southwell's life to a work of art is a profound insight which their critical prejudices in favour of 'nature' and against 'artificiality' prevent them from fully realizing. When they liken the life to a work of art they mean that Southwell's life was beautiful on account of his moral and religious virtues, and that it is the infusion of this beauty into his poetry that is its chief recommendation:

The chief value of his poems lies in...what they reveal to us of his soul. They are admirable on account of the writer's exceptional spiritual quality.(4)

According to Janelle, this spiritual beauty is natural and spontaneous, and exists in the poems in spite of and at odds with

their artificiality:

The endless, tiresome conceits of 'Saint Peters Complaint' might give rise to misgivings as to the writer's sincerity, but there is no possible doubt as to the genuineness and depth of feeling which inspired the 'Prodigall Chylde Soule Wracke'.

Let us therefore turn to his deeper qualities, and removing the veil of artificiality, gaze at the beautiful statue underneath.(5)

I would argue, however, that artificiality is not a 'veil' to be removed, but is part of the essential character not only of the poetry but also of the man.

That man is a work of art akin to a literary work is an implication of the view of God as an artificer 'whose works our wit exceed'. We have noted that the main works of God - Paradise, Man, the Virgin Mary, Christ, the Eucharist, Heaven - are all described in similar terms as 'sums of beauty and delight' constructed (framed or wrought) by art. Adam was "framed...of slymye claye". Mary is "a glorious temple wrought of secret art". Christ is "one compound framde of perfect blisse". The bread of the Eucharist "may to Christes flesh be wrought".(6) Southwell writes of Margaret Sackville in Triumphs over Death that:

Ladies may admire her as a glory to their degree, in whom honour was portrayed in the true likeness: Grace having perfected Nature's first draft with all the due colours of an absent virtue. All women may accept her as a pattern to imitate...(7)

It is clearly appropriate to describe these creations and reworkings as artificial. In all these instances the creative artist is God, but although Southwell gives the credit to God, it is certain that he views man's own wit and artistic faculty, created by God, as a co-worker with God in this secondary creation. Indeed, the implication of 'Looke Home' is that God works on man by confirming his will for the task of creating and improving 'finest works', which



include man's recreation of himself:

The mind a creature is, yet can create,  
To natures paterns adding higher skill:  
Of finest workes wit better could the state,  
If force of wit had equall power of will.  
Devise of man in working hath no end,  
What thought can think another thought can mend.  
(11.7-12)

The regeneration of man, therefore, is a joint effort of human and divine wit. A new person is rewritten from nature's first draft, or embroidered on the ground of the old nature:

As a cunning Imbroiderer, having a peece of torne or  
frettet velvet for his ground, so contriveth and draweth  
his worke, that the frettet places being wrought over with  
curious knots or flowers, they farre excell in shew the  
other whole parts of the velvet...(8)

Now I would argue that such an artistic and witty reworking of the natural man is the key to understanding Southwell. The passage just cited is itself a reworking of a revealing passage in the Spiritual Notebooks:

If a prince should chance to tear a precious robe upon a nail, the craftsman will repair it with such care and diligence that far from spoiling the appearance of the robe, the rent will even add to its beauty and value. Thus our affections may sometimes be drawn by natural attraction to attach themselves to this or that person or thing, in such a way that turning aside in some degree from the Creator they immediately cling to creatures. But yet if, corresponding with His grace, we try to turn our affections towards God and overcome for the sake of His love our natural inclinations, our love of Him will not suffer through such natural attraction towards men, but by His grace will become still more pure and strong.

Or, to make another application, although the most precious garment of Christ, formed by the skill of the Holy Ghost and taking shape in the most pure womb of Mary, was torn by the Jews through the wounds and the rents of the nails, yet after His Resurrection and glorification, far from causing any deformity, His wounds rendered His body yet more bright and glorious.(9)

The deliberate 'tearing' of the natural self with its sinful attraction towards men suggests a self mortification or crucifixion of the natural man which is reworked into an artificial and spiritual

self which is pure and strong, bright and glorious. As the passage implies, the purpose of Southwell's rewriting of himself was to transform his nature into a form pleasing to God. As with the Magdalen, his sinful love of man loses its sinfulness and finds its fulfilment in a spiritual love of the man-god. Southwell's reworking of himself, largely through the agency of Jesuit discipline, is part of a transformation of his whole situation in which his exile and metaphorical orphanhood are turned into a purgatorial vale of tears leading 'home' to heaven; a heaven known through its reflection in the heavenly home of the human soul whose leading faculty, as it is portrayed in 'Looke Home', is wit or artistic creativity.

## Appendix A

### A Brief Chronology of the Main Events of Southwell's Life.

Dates of events in England are according to the 'Old Style' English calender.

1561

Born at Horsham St.Faith's, Norfolk; the third son of Richard and Bridget Southwell.

1576

Entered the Jesuit school at Douai, lodging at the English College there.

1576-1577

Owing to civil disturbances at Douai, he spent some time at Paris, probably studying at the Jesuit College at Clermont.

1577

Returned to Douai.

17 October 1578

Entered the Jesuit novitiate at Rome becoming a student at the Roman College.

1581

Was transferred to the English College where he acted as tutor in philosophy and later as prefect of studies and prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin.

July 1586

Returned to England with Henry Garnett, his superior in the Jesuit Mission to England.

1587-1588

Published An Epistle of Comfort.

1591

Wrote An Humble Supplication to Her Majesty (published 1600), The Triumphs over Death (published 1596), and Mary Magdalen's Funeral Tears (published 1591-1592).

25-26 June 1592

Arrested by Topcliffe and held in Topcliffe's house for two days, being several times tortured, before being transferred to the Gatehouse Prison.

28 July 1592

Committed to the Tower.

6 April 1593

Letter to Robert Cecil asking to be brought to trial.

20 February 1595

Brought before the Queens Bench and condemned to death.

21 February 1595

Executed at Tyburn.

5 April 1595

Saint Peters Complaint, With other Poemes entered on Stationers Register.

17 October 1595

Maeoniae entered on Stationers Register.

1929

Beatified.

1970

Canonized.

## Appendix B

### A Note on the Career of Antonio Possevino S.J, 1533-1611 (1)

#### 1.0

This Appendix is, in a sense, a foot-note to Frances Yates' book Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition. It gives additional illustration to the argument that in the sixteenth century interest in the Hermetic tradition was frequently combined with a belief in religious toleration (or at least a pragmatic and conciliatory approach to the problems of religious schism), and in particular, with support for Henry IV of France in his crucial struggle against the Catholic League backed by the Spanish Monarchy. It provides it from an area at the heart of the Counter-Reformation - the Society of Jesus and the Papal court - where such a connection has been little examined. It suggests further that current views of the Counter-Reformation, and of the Jesuits in particular, are in need of revision, and that to a greater extent than is commonly realised, the conversion of Italian humanists to the Catholic Church was a natural continuation of their humanistic research, and particularly of their study of Greek philosophy and the Greek Fathers.

As evidence for this view I cite certain aspects of the varied

career of Antonio Possevino, Secretary General of the Jesuits under Everard Mercurian and subsequently a Papal diplomat of high standing. Although an exceptional figure, I would submit that he was not untypical of Italian humanists and churchmen of his time in his intellectual interests and allegiances.

## 2.0

Possevino has been described as the greatest Jesuit scholar and diplomat of his age. To this, one should add, on the evidence of the numerous schools he founded, that he was also one of the order's outstanding educationalists.

Born at Mantua in 1533 of a poor but noble family, he accompanied Camillo Capilupi to Rome in 1550 to continue his education. The Capilupi were not only one of the chief families of Mantua, but were also a distinguished clan of humanists and poets. Thus at the age of seventeen Possevino was introduced to the choicest and most intellectual circles at Rome where he soon distinguished himself (and, indeed, was soon to receive marks of Papal favour for tutoring the nephews of the Cardinal Gonzaga). He befriended the French poet Joachim du Bellay (to whom he dedicated a Virgilian Cento), the poet Laurentio Gambara, and Fulvio Orsini the antiquarian and scholar at the centre of humanistic activity at Rome. Through Orsini he would probably have known Franciscus Patritius (Patrizi) whose interest in Greek literature and philosophy he shared. During a stay at Ferrara Bartholomeo Ricci a prominent humanist and member of the Accademia degli Elevati asked Possevino to oversee the publication of certain works completed in manuscript. During this period of his life he devoted himself above all to the study of Greek philosophy and literature.

In 1559, with other young aristocrats, he formed the intention of joining the Society of Jesus, becoming a novice in September of that

year, and it is clear from his subsequent writings that his religious conversion represented a continuation of his scholarly interests. From his Bibliotheca Selecta (first published in 1593, but conceived in the 1570's) the range of his Greek studies can be reconstructed. The areas of Greek culture that he was most interested in were Greek science and mathematics (he translated Euclid into Latin); Greek philosophy of the Platonic tradition (he recommended Hermes Trismegistus to the Christian writer); and the Greek Fathers (reserving the very highest praise for the Byzantine poet and theologian Gregory of Nazianzenus who he describes as "a divine man" and "supreme poet and theologian" (Poss. p.455, 410).) Among the moderns he praises Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and his near-contemporary, the Christian Neoplatonist Patrizi (who was later to present him with a copy of his Nova de universis philosophia).

Possevino's rise in the Jesuit order was swift. In 1561 he was sent to Savoy to combat the Waldensian heresy. There he pressed on the Duke of Savoy, Emmanuel Philibert, the advantages of strengthening the Church and ensuring the security of his Dukedom by the establishment of a system of Catholic schools and colleges, and founded such a college at Mondovi. In 1565 we find him negotiating with the French king, or rather Catherine de Medici, for the Jesuits to be authorised to found colleges under their own name throughout France, and Letters Patent were issued to this effect. Around this time he helped to found the Jesuit college at Avignon of which he became Rector, leaving it in 1571 to become the Rector of the college at Lyons. In 1573 he was appointed Secretary General of the order under the Generalship of Everard Mercurian, a position which he used to extend and strengthen the Jesuit school system. Karttunen, his modern biographer, implies that during this period he was effectively the head of the Jesuit order. When, after 1577, he had been called by the Pope to act as a diplomat in Northern Europe, the founding of

colleges and seminaries was an important aspect of his duties. On his mission to the North of 1582, in which he was given a free hand diplomatically, he was given overall direction of existing colleges and seminaries and authority to establish more, to the end of strengthening Catholicism.

Hutton attributes to the Jesuits the credit for reversing, or at least holding, the decline in Greek studies in the second half of the sixteenth century, and it seems likely that a great part of the credit lies with Possevino.(2)

Possevino's diplomatic activities were various and complex, but two episodes in particular illustrate his pragmatic and conciliatory approach.

In 1577 Possevino was sent to negotiate with John III of Sweden who had expressed a wish to enter the Catholic Church. Possevino converted the king and negotiated terms under which the Swedish Church might be induced to return to the Catholic fold. The agreement was unacceptable to the Vatican. Particular sticking points were Mass in the vernacular and Communion under both kinds (in which the laity receive the wine).

Contrary to existing Papal policy, Possevino had endorsed the scheme of the Polish king, Stephen Bathory, for the conquest of Russia (thinly disguised as a crusade against the Turks), and the death of Bathory in 1586 marked the beginning of his first period of political disgrace. His independence and power was an irritant to Aquaviva, the new General of the Jesuits, who took this opportunity to confine him to literary and academic work.

However, the bitterly contested conclave of 1592 in which the candidate of the Spanish faction was defeated in circumstances that mingled tragedy and farce, raised to the Papal throne an old friend (Aldobrandini) who lost little time in calling Patrizi and Possevino to Rome; the one to teach Platonic philosophy, the other to resume



his diplomatic career. Clement VIII (Aldobrandini) admired the Nova de universis philosophia which was shortly to be condemned and put on the index of banned books - an episode which marks a turning point in the character of the Counter-Reformation, and a significant pointer to the imminent defeat of Platonic by Aristotelian philosophy. Entrusted with secret negotiations with Henri IV, Possevino zealously took up the cause of reconciling Henri and the Papacy, becoming an advocate for Henri's cause as he had formerly been of that of Bathory. Owing to Spanish opposition the negotiations lapsed and Possevino again returned to the semi-retirement of literary work and teaching. The expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1594 following an unsuccessful assassination attempt against Henri spurred Aquaviva into seeking reconciliation with the French king. Hitherto the Jesuits had supported the League, and Aquaviva could not - at the risk of splitting his order - offend the powerful Spanish faction by seeking an accommodation with the French king too openly. In his dilemma, he called upon Possevino to handle the difficult negotiations on behalf of the Jesuits, and also to act as a Papal agent. The negotiations were successful. Henri was solemnly absolved and the Jesuits - after a delay - were re-admitted to France. Possevino's zeal for the French cause however, had earned the displeasure of the increasingly powerful Spanish party and ensured his definitive political disgrace.

### 3.0

Here then in the scholarly, educational and diplomatic career of Possevino is the explanation of the fact noted by Frances Yates, that Patrizi (a contact of Possevino) should have urged his Neoplatonic philosophy upon the Jesuits as a means of overcoming heresy and strengthening Catholicism by peaceful means. Patrizi had presented a copy of his book to Possevino, and Possevino had quoted Patrizi at length in his De poesi... as an authority on Greek poetry. In all

probability the two men were friends of long standing. It explains also the remark attributed to Bruno that he despised "Picus Mirandulanus and all the philosophy of the Jesuits".(3) The combination may seem "curious" in terms of current stereotypes of the Jesuit order, but is not at all strange in the context of Possevino's career. The link between this philosophic tradition and Possevino's diplomatic activity is illuminated by the terms of his praise of Pico who he describes as divinely witty in reconciling different theologies.(Poss. p.457) The eirenic implications of this attitude for Catholic theology and diplomacy are clear, and are manifest in the efforts of men like Possevino to strengthen the common ground between Catholics and Protestants, and to devise - by no means an impossible task - formulae to reconcile their doctrinal differences. It ought not to surprise us that study of the Neoplatonic tradition should be an element in the Counter-Reformation. Yates has drawn attention to the religious tendency of these studies as against the secular tendency of the earlier phase of humanism chiefly concerned with Latin texts, and it does not seem an improbable assumption that the increasingly theological and mystical direction of humanistic studies should have been a factor impelling humanists in the direction of the Church - though it must be emphasised that one is talking of a current within the Counter Reformation (and moreover one which was largely suppressed in the seventeenth century), and not the Counter Reformation entire.

## NOTES

### Introduction

1. Gabriel Harvey, Pierces Supererogation 1593, p.191: "Who can deny, but the Resolution, and Mary Magdalens funerall teares, are penned elegantly, and pathetically?"; Francis Bacon in a letter to his brother Anthony, 5 May [1601?], The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon edited by James Spedding in two volumes (London, 1862), II, p.368: "I send to you the supplication [A Humble Supplication to Her Majesty]. It is curiously written, and worth the writing out ~~for the art...~~": quoted in J.H.McDonald, Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell S.J.: A Bibliographical Study (Oxford, 1937), pp.133-134.
2. Morris W. Croll, 'The Sources of the Euphuistic Rhetoric', in Style, Rhetoric, and Rhythm edited by J. Max Patrick (Princeton, 1966), pp.241-295.
3. Fredson Bowers, Textual and Literary Criticism (Cambridge, 1959), p.8.
4. Alastair Fowler, Triumphal Forms (Cambridge, 1970), p.198.
5. p.90.

### Chapter I

1. Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, second edition (Newhaven, 1962); Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton, 1979). Anthony Raspa, The Emotive Image: Jesuit Poetics in the English Renaissance (Fort Worth, 1984) was seen by me when the thesis was substantially complete. It is an immensely erudite book, possibly an important contribution to the history of ideas. However, I have reservations about its methodology, similar to those about the work of Martz and Lewalski. It extrapolates from a number of sources, of which Loyola's Exercises is the most important, a descriptive poetics. This, of course, is a proper quarry for scholarship, but it is remote from the prescriptive taught poetics consciously held and observed by poets.
2. Julius Caesar Scaliger, Poetices Libri Septem, facsimile of the 1561 Lyon edition with an introduction by August Buck (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1964).
3. Thomas Watson, for example, is strongly indebted to Italian poetry in his Hecatompethia, or Passionate Centurie of Love 1582, reprinted in Arber's English Reprints volume IX (London, 1870),

- which is an early example of the more mannered, Italianate style of the later 1580s. He published a Latin version of Tasso's Aminta in 1585 which was turned into English by Abraham Fraunce in 1591, and The first Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished in 1590. It is fair to say that near-contemporary Italian poetry was one of the strongest influences on English poets in this decade.
4. Lewalski, p.ix.
  5. For example, see my discussion of Bernard Weinberg, A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance, in two volumes (Chicago, 1961).
  6. Jozef IJsewijn, Companion to Neo-Latin Studies (Oxford, 1977) p.48.
  7. Herbert Thurston S.J., 'Catholic Writers and Elizabethan Readers. II - Father Southwell the Euphuist', The Month, 83 (1895), pp. 231-245, 238.
  8. Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer (London, 1935), p.1, p.4.
  9. p.116.
  10. p.93.
  11. Martz, p.183.
  12. Robert Southwell, Saint Mary Magdalens Funerall teares (1616), reprint (Menston, 1971), p.58.
  13. John Sparrow, 'Latin Verse of the High Renaissance', in Italian Renaissance Studies, edited by E.F.Jacob (London, 1960), pp.354-409, p.409.
  14. IJsewijn, p.47-48.
  15. Leicester Bradner, Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500:1925 (London, 1940), p.91.
  16. I.D.McFarlane, Renaissance Latin Poetry (Manchester, 1980), p.11.
  17. p.95.
  18. Lewalski, p.ix.
  19. McFarlane, p.1.
  20. Joseph Hall, Virgidemiarum, sixe bookes (London, 1597), p.17; quoted by J.H.McDonald, Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell S.J. (Oxford, 1937), p.133 and by Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry, edited by W.Carew Hazlitt in four volumes (London, 1871), IV, p.234.
  21. F.A.Wright and T.A.Sinclair, A History of Later Latin Literature (London, 1931), p.357.
  22. Paul Van Tieghem, La Litterature Latine de la Renaissance (Paris, 1944).
  23. Pierre Laurens, Musae Reduces: Anthologie de la poésie latine dans l'Europe de la Renaissance, two volumes (Leiden, 1975); Alessandro Perosa and John Sparrow, Renaissance Latin Poetry: An Anthology (London, 1979); McFarlane, Renaissance Latin Poetry.
  24. Joseph D. Scallion S.J., The Poetry of Robert Southwell, S.J. (Salzburg, 1975), p.71.
  25. Weinberg, I, p.297.
  26. p.308-309.
  27. Antonio Possevino, 'De poesi et pictura ethnica, humana, et fabulosa, collata cum vera, honesta, et sacra', Bibliotheca Selecta in two volumes (Cologne, 1607), II, pp.407-483, p.411. Most subsequent references to this work, abbreviated to Poss., are given in the text. The fact that I am using an edition later than the first is not material to the argument since I do not, of course, argue that Southwell knew the treatise, but rather that the treatise reflects the views of a prominent Jesuit Educationalist.
  28. M.E.Cosenza, Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists, six volumes (Boston, 1962), IV, p.2950.
  29. The case for this view is put in Appendix B.
  30. Weinberg, p.297.

31. p.346.
32. Weinberg, I, p.335.
33. James Hutton, The Greek Anthology in Italy to the year 1800 (New York, 1935), p.59, p.65, p.66.
34. p.64-65, p.193.
35. Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London, 1964), p.159.
36. Hutton, p.328.
37. p.328.
38. Joseph G. Fucilla, 'A Rhetorical Pattern in Renaissance Poetry', Studies in the Renaissance 3 (1956), pp. 23-48, p.32.
39. Ernst Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (London, 1953), p.273-291. He frees the term from art-historical connotations and defines it in terms of a complex of formal characteristics.
40. Hutton, p.42.
41. R.R.Ruether, Gregory of Nazianzenus: Rhetor and Philosopher (Oxford, 1969).
42. Hutton, p.259.
43. Yates, p.161.
44. Nesca Robb, Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance (London, 1935), p.69.
45. Curtius, p.552-558.
46. Ruether, p.52.
47. Nancy Brown and J.H.McDonald, The Poems of Robert Southwell S.J. (London, 1967), p.1.
48. Ardis B. Collins, The Secular is Sacred: Platonism and Thomism in Marsilio Ficino's 'Platonic Theology' (The Hague, 1974), p.viii.
49. Cosenza, III, p.2637.
50. Scallion, p.135, p.138.
51. The issue of Neoplatonism is more important than it might at first seem because of the linkage between intellectual and political attitudes. Jesuit writers have played down division in the Jesuit order; attributing, for example, Jasper Heywood's attacks on Parsons to mental illness. Since Heywood's allegations that Parson's was involved in plots to kill the Queen are not groundless, it seems likely that objection to Parson's pro-Spanish policy rather than mental instability was the cause. It is also conceivable that Southwell's An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie which expresses loyalty to the Queen indicates political differences with Parsons and Allen who were plotting her overthrow. However, these are still clouded and controversial matters lying outside the scope of this study, and best left to historians to clarify.
52. IJsewijn, p.50.
53. He describes St. Gregory of Nazianzenus as "summus theologus atque poeta" (p.410) and "vir divinus" (p.455); and Pico as "divinum illud ingenium" (p.457).
54. Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, second edition (Rome, 1964).
55. Hutton, p.55.
56. Fowler, Triumphal Forms, p.66.
57. 'The Triumphs over Death', Archaeica part III (London, 1814), pp.23-24.
58. Raspa, p.105.
59. Janelle, p.4; Martz, p.183.

1. Pierre Laurens, Musae Reduces, I, p.7.
2. Robert Southwell, 'Poemata Latina', in The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell S.J., edited by the Rev.A.B.Grosart (Blackburn, 1872), pp.189-215.
3. Leicester Bradner, Musae Anglicanae; supplement in The Library, 5th series, 22 (1969), 93-101.
4. Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer, pp.127-141.
5. p.141.
6. p.128.
7. John Sparrow, 'Latin Verse of the High Renaissance', p.358.
8. Bradner, p.1, p.8.
9. Laurens, II, p.256; I.D.McFarlane, Renaissance Latin Poetry, p.1.
10. Hutton, The Greek Anthology in Italy, p.50.
11. Jacques de Billy (1538-81) published his Sonnets Spirituels in 1573 and a book of Latin versions of the same poems, Anthologia Sacra, in 1575. In 1590 Watson published Meliboeus: a Latin Elegy on the Death of Sir Francis Walsingham with an accompanying English poem; reprinted in Arber's English Reprints volume IX (London, 1870).
12. For example, Remond's poem on the Magdalen (see Chapter I) and Crashaw's 'The Weeper'.
13. An exception is the Latin epitaph on Lady Margaret Sackville which is an equivalent of the English epitaph. Both poems form part of the preliminaries of The Triumphs over Death completed in September 1591 and printed in 1596.
14. Janelle, p.299.
15. Biographie Universelle, XXXIII, pp.601-602. For Southwell's visit to France see Christopher Devlin, The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr (London, 1956), pp.27-29.
16. I visited Stonyhurst College in August 1983 to examine MS A.v.4., and to arrange to have it photographed. I have altered the text of quotations from the poems to restore Southwell's original punctuation and to correct errors in Grosart's transcription. That Grosart's text is not free of error has been noted by Peter Beal, Index of English Literary Manuscripts (London, 1980), I, part 2, p.496.
17. Janelle, p.297.
18. J.H.McDonald, Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell S.J. (Oxford, 1937), p.12.
19. Grosart, p.190; Janelle, p.301.
20. Grosart's suggestion of Mary Queen of Scots is improbable on account of the disagreement of name, and impossible in that her death is later than the composition of the poem. Janelle suggests St.Margaret Queen of Scotland, and ingeniously adduces as evidence the fact that her remains were conveyed from Scotland to the Escorial. Janelle concedes the improbability of his suggestion whose sole merit is in accounting for the emphasis given to the mourning of the Spanish people. However, it is clear that the grief is not exclusively Spanish. It might well be that Spain is emphasised because of its western position, as Ethiopia and India are used to represent the East. Janelle concedes that a near-contemporary Margaret would be more likely than the the Scottish saint, but can find no suitable Spanish candidate. If this requirement is discarded, as I think it ought to be, then a suitable candidate presents herself. This is Margaret of France, wife of Philip Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy who died in 1574. She was a virtuous woman, a good Catholic, known as the 'mother of her people', esteemed in French literary circles, and the subject of a volume of commemorative verse published at Turin in 1575. Southwell spent some time in France in 1576 when such verse would have been still current. And it seems highly likely that the poem belongs to this period, since at one point the dead queen

addresses her fellow-countrymen ('sanguis meus'). Two other points strengthen this identification. Firstly, Savoy was afflicted by a civil-war between a Catholic party and the Waldenses in which the Catholic powers took an interest as a crusade against heresy. The Jesuits were particularly active there, sent specially by the Pope who feared the possibility of a Protestant state so close to Italy. Margaret would have been, then, a current Catholic heroine - almost as Mary Queen of Scots was to become later - and especially for a young man interested in the Jesuits and identifying closely with the struggle against heresy. Secondly, there is a Spanish connection albeit tenuous, in that her betrothal was celebrated at the same time as that of her fellow-princess Isabelle, who married Don Carlos, son of Philip II of Spain.

21. Hutton quotes various versions of such an epigram (A.P. 11. 428), pp.198-199.
22. Poss., p.450.
23. Nesca Robb, Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance, p.189.
24. Janelle, p.131.
25. Janelle, p.128.
26. Bradner, p.38.
27. Like many poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Southwell imitates Tasso's account of the Council in Hell in the Fourth Canto of Gerusalemme Liberata. The sequence of events common to both works is as follows. Satan (or Death, in Southwell's case) fearing defeat, summons a Council. The trumpet rings out and a hideous procession of devils take their places. Satan (Death) makes an heroically defiant speech recalling past glories and present setbacks, inciting his followers to a furious desire for revenge. The whole effect is coloured by pathos, in that Satan and the reader know that the cause is lost.

In addition to these broad parallels, there are a number of closer correspondences between the speeches of Satan and Death. One example is Satan's reference to the decay of religion caused by the decline in diabolic power, in Fairfax's translation:

So shall our sacred altars all be his,  
Our holy idols tumbled in the mould,  
To him the wretched man that sinful is  
Shall pray, and offer incense, myrrh and gold;  
Our temples shall their costly deckings miss,  
With naked walls and pillars freezing cold,  
Tribute of souls shall end, and our estate,  
Or Pluto reign in kingdoms desolate.  
(st.14)

The counterpart of this in Southwell's poem is

Sic formidabile numen  
Imperiumque ruet, sic nostris hostia templis  
Deficiet, tantique cadent fastigia regni?  
(11.101-103)

[Shall thus our mighty divinity  
and power be lost, thus in our temples  
sacrifice cease, and the heights of such great power fall?]

A number of such parallels make clear Southwell's debt to Tasso.

28. Grosart has "Illius haec genetrix est..." and "Quem timeo...".
29. I am indebted to Alastair Fowler's Triumphal Forms, (Cambridge, 1970), for heightening my awareness of these aspects of literature.

30. Bradner, pp.48-49.
31. Nancy Brown, 'The Structure of Southwell's "Saint Peter's Complaint"', MLR, 61 (1966), 1, pp.3-11.
32. p.5.
33. p.8.
34. p.6, p.9.
35. p.5.
36. p.6.
37. The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola edited and translated by W.H.Longridge (London, 1919), p.61.
38. p.58.
39. Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, p.258: '...the librarian of St.Victor...confided to his valuable diary that Bruno...had said that he "despises Picus Mirandulanus and all the philosophy of the Jesuits"'.  
 40. Janelle, p.131.
41. See the account of Possevino's treatment of Elegy in Chapter I.
42. Janelle, p.131.

### Chapter III

1. Rev.A.B.Grosart, The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell S.J., p.lxxxviii.
2. Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer, p.69.
3. Robert Southwell, 'Letter to Robert Cecil', in Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life, edited by Nancy Brown (Charlottesville, 1973), 77-85.
4. Nancy Brown and J.H.McDonald, The Poems of Robert Southwell S.J. (London, 1967), pp.lxxviii-lxxxvi; referred to subsequently as Poems.
5. p.xxiii.
6. Janelle, p.299; the Latin poem is the Epitaph on Lady Margaret Sackville.
7. The best authority on the texts is the 'Textual Introduction' to the Poems which supersedes J.H.McDonald's bibliographical study.
8. Poems, p.xxiii. I am largely indebted to these sources.
9. p.1.
10. p.xv.
11. p.2.
12. Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric, p.51.
13. Noted by Fowler in Triumphal Forms, p.136.
14. Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, p.186.
15. Janelle, p.166.
16. Joseph D. Scallion S.J., The Poetry of Robert Southwell S.J., p.176.
17. Christopher Devlin, The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr, p.85.

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1. Alastair Fowler, Triumphal Forms, p.198.
2. Leicester Bradner, Musae Anglicanae, p.1.
3. Pierre Laurens, Musae Reduces, I, p.18.
4. Rev.A.B.Grosart, The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell S.J., p.lxxxviii.
5. Morris W. Croll, 'The sources of the Euphuistic Rhetoric', p.291; Rosamund Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery (Chicago,



- 1947), p.viii.
6. J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924), p.286-287.
7. Ernst Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p.228.
8. p.268.
9. Wylie Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style (New York, 1956), p.10.
10. See note eleven to Chapter II.
11. 'Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden', in Ben Jonson edited in eleven volumes by C.H.Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford, 1925), I, pp.128-178, p.133; cited by McDonald, p.134.
12. Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, pp.191-192.
13. Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer, p.281.
14. Janelle, p.271; Joseph D. Scallon, The Poetry of Robert Southwell S.J., p.135.
15. Janelle, p.166.
16. Robert Southwell, 'Transcript of a prose fragment from Stonyhurst MS A.v.4.', in Triumphs over Death, edited by J.W.Trotman (London, 1914).
17. Robert Southwell, Spiritual Exercises and Devotions, edited by J.M. de Buck S.J., new edition (London, 1974), p.40-41.
18. Poems, p.xx.
19. Mario Praz, 'Robert Southwell's "Saint Peters Complaint" and its Italian Source', MLR, 19 (1924), pp.273-290, p.289-290.
20. Janelle, pp.166-168.
21. Poems, lxxix.
22. See note three to Chapter I.
23. George Gascoigne, Certayne Notes of Instruction 1575, in part in Elizabethan Critical Essays edited in two volumes by G.Gregory Smith (Oxford, 1904), I, pp.46-57, p.56.
24. Nancy Brown prints a text of Dyer's poem in Poems, pp.135-138.
25. Martz, p.199.
26. p.199.
27. Janelle, p.166; Poems, p.lxxix.
28. Tottel's Miscellany 1557-1587, edited by Hyder Edward Rollins in two volumes (Cambridge Mass., 1928), I, pp.9-10.
29. From Churchyards Chips, quoted by W.J. Courthope, A History of English Poetry, in six volumes (London, 1897), II, p.167.
30. Gabriel Harvey, Pierces Supererogation 1593, in Smith II, pp.245-282, p.259-260.
31. Christopher Devlin, The Life of Robert Southwell, p.267.
32. For Southwell's meeting with Byrd soon after his arrival in England, see Devlin, The Life of Robert Southwell, p.114.
33. In 1591 and 1592 John Wolfe published Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares, and from September 1592 until the following April or later Harvey lived at Wolfe's printing house; as noted by Virginia F. Stern, Gabriel Harvey. His Life. Marginalia and Library (Oxford, 1979), p.101. It is probable that there was some slight acquaintance between them.
34. The Phoenix Nest 1593, edited by Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge Mass., 1931), p.xxxvii.
35. The Triumphs over Death 1596, reprinted in Archaica part III 1814, p.v. Southwell is described as "Our second Ciceronian". Though the description is not precise, I presume that Sidney is meant as the first Ciceronian.
36. Martz, p.186.
37. p.183.
38. Janelle, p.35.
39. John Gerard, The Autobiography of an Elizabethan, translated from the Latin by Philip Caraman with an Introduction by Graham Greene

- (London, 1951), p.153.
40. Martz, p.43.
  41. René Fulop-Miller, The Power and Secret of the Jesuits (New York, 1930), p.409; quoted in G. Richard Dimler S.J., 'A Survey of Jesuit Drama in Germany 1550-1602', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, XLIII (1974), pp.133-146, p.137.
  42. Martz, p.189.
  43. See note twelve to Chapter I.
  44. Southwell, Spiritual Exercises and Devotions, p.40.
  45. An Epistle of Comfort 1587-1588, reprint (London, 1974), Bb4.
  46. [Diego de Estella], Hundred Meditations on the Love of God, [translated or transcribed?] by Robert Southwell, edited by John Morris (London, 1873), p.6.
  47. Elizabeth Cook, 'Figured Poetry', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 42 (1979), pp.1-15, p.2.
  48. de Estella, p.2.
  49. Cook, p.15.

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1. Christopher Devlin, The Life of Robert Southwell, p.336.
2. From Hypercritica, cited by J.H.McDonald, The Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell S.J.: A Bibliographical Study, p.134; and by Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry (London, 1871), IV, p.204. The description "judicious" is Warton's.
3. Anthony A Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (1691-92), a new edition edited by Philip Bliss in four volumes (London, 1813), II, p.261.
4. George Saintsbury, A History of Elizabethan Literature (London, 1896), p.120.
5. James Russell Lowell, Writings, Riverside Edition (Boston, 1890), I, p.303-304.
6. Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer, p.144.
7. Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, p.186.
8. The Phoenix Nest, p.50 [58].
9. See also the poem by Nicholas Breton, pp.74-75. Sidney refers to God as "Him that sits/ Beyond the Heaven, far more beyond our wits" in the sonnet from Arcadia 'The song I sang old Languet had me taught'. A poet in Byrd's Psalms, Sonets and Songs, p.81, says of Love that "His power exceedeth man's conceit".
10. Janelle, p.205, p.223.
11. Poems, p.xv.
12. Mario Praz, 'Robert Southwell's "Saint Peters Complaint" and its Italian Source', p.289; Janelle, p.158.
13. Poems, p.lxxxix.
14. p.xc-xci
15. p.xci.
16. Hence the Renaissance fascination with Egyptian hieroglyphics, which are both word and image. In its use of spatial composition, especially 'central accent', 'Saint Peters Complaint' is, as it were, a geometrical figure.
17. Possevino, pp.449-450.
18. Poems, pp.lxxxvi-lxxxviii.
19. p.lxxxvii.
20. p.1.
21. Nancy Brown, 'The Structure of Southwell's "Saint Peter's Complaint"', p.5.
22. Christopher Devlin, 'Robert Southwell and Contemporary Poets - 1', The Month, 1950, no.4, pp.169-180, p.173.
23. 'To the Reader', Saint Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares, p.51.
24. 'The Harrowing of Hell', The Exeter Book Part II, EETS,

- pp.121-181, p.175.
25. Alastair Fowler, Triumphal Forms, p.62.
  26. Maren-Sofie Røstvig, 'Structure as prophecy: the influence of biblical exegesis upon theories of literary structure', in Silent Poetry, ed. Alistair Fowler (London, 1970), pp.32-72, p.62.
  27. Fowler, Triumphal Forms, p.118.
  28. p.77 and pp.99-112.
  29. Brown, p.6.
  30. The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, p.180.
  31. p.257.
  32. p.191.
  33. p.275.

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1. 'Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden', in Ben Jonson edited in eleven volumes by C.H.Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford, 1925), I, pp.128-178, p.137; also cited by McDonald, Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell S.J.: A Bibliographical Study (Oxford, 1937), p.134.
2. The sad shepherd: or a tale of Robin Hood. A Fragment, written by Ben Jonson, edited by F.G.Waldron (London, 1783). 'A Vale of teares' is printed in an appendix, pp.224-232, dealing with Southwell. Also cited by McDonald, p.127.
3. Henry Headley, Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry, in two volumes (London, 1787), I, p.2, p.5; also cited by McDonald, p.127.
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5. C.S.Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama (Oxford, 1954), p.545.
6. The Oxford Book of English Verse, chosen and edited by A.T.Quiller-Couch (Oxford, 1904).
7. McDonald, p.129. The poems are: 'The Burning Babe', 'Times Goe by Turnes', 'New Prince, New Pomp', 'Losse in Delaies', 'Content and Rich', 'I Die Alive', 'Upon the Image of Death', 'New Heaven, New Warre', 'Loves Servile Lot', 'Lewd Love is Losse', 'A Childe my Choyce', and 'Looke Home'.
8. C.M.Hood, The Book of Robert Southwell (Oxford, 1926). Anon. [identified as T.S.Eliot by Scallon, p.224], 'The author of "The Burning Babe"', TLS, 29 July 1926, p.508.
9. Helen Gardner, The New Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1950 (Oxford, 1972).
10. Helen Gardner, The Metaphysical Poets (Harmondsworth, 1957).
11. Edward Lucie-Smith, The Penguin Book of Elizabethan Verse (Harmondsworth, 1965).
12. Eliot, p.508.
13. Lewis, p.546.
14. James Hutton, The Greek Anthology in Italy, p.57.
15. Poss., p.446.
16. Jacob Bidermann, Epigrammatum libri tres (Antwerp, 1620).
17. A similar pun on 'stile' is noted by Raspa, The Emotive Image (Fort Worth, 1984), p.84. He comments on 'Decease, Release' and especially the phrase "my trapp my stile advanced" that "the style of verse is described as leading to the poet's emancipation...". This is doubtful. The text will bear the sense 'affliction elevated my style' but Raspa's reading ignores the grammatical parallelism of the context which points to 'trapp' as subject and 'stile' as object. Since the supposed speaker is Mary Stuart, 'stile' should be understood in a wider sense than the literary,

though encompassing literary style.

18. Poss., p.480.
19. Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, p.22.
20. Morris W. Croll, 'The Sources of the Euphuistic Rhetoric', pp.241-242.
21. For discussion of syntactical correlation see: Ernst Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp.286-290; Joseph G. Fucilla, 'A Rhetorical Pattern in Renaissance Poetry'; Alonso Damaso, 'Poesia correlativa inglesa en los siglos XVI y XVII', Filologia Moderna, 2 (February 1961), pp.1-47.
22. Joseph A. Mazzeo, 'A Critique of Some Modern Theories of Metaphysical Poetry', Modern Philology, 50 (1952), 88-96.
23. Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer, p.166; Joseph D. Scallion, The Poetry of Robert Southwell S.J., p.176.
24. Eliot, p.508.
25. Tottel's Miscellany, p.29.
26. Louis L. Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, p.82.
27. [Diego de Estella], Hundred Meditations on the Love of God, p.68.
28. Peter M. Daly, 'Southwell's "Burning Babe" and the Emblematic Practice', Wascana Review, 3 (1968), pp.29-44, p.30.
29. Elizabeth Cook, 'Figured Poetry', p.4.
30. Such as: 'S.Peters Afflicted Minde', 'S.Peters Remorse', and 'The Prodigall Childs Soule Wracke'.
31. The Phoenix Nest, p.xix.
32. Martz, p.186; Poems, p.xcv; Scallion, p.122.
33. 'Fortunes Falsehoode', l.21; 'Saint Peters Complaint', l.657.
34. Janelle, p.281.
35. Martz, p.191.
36. p.192.
37. p.188-189.
38. Frances Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, p.111.
39. p.4.
40. See, for example, my discussion of 'New Heaven, New Warre'. I am aware that the Hermetic reading of 'The Garden', as developed by Marie-Sofie Rostvig ('Andrew Marvell's "The Garden": A Hermetic Poem', English Studies, XL, 65-76) has been disputed. However, the parallel between Marvell's poem and Southwell's is very close, and Jesuit interest in neo-platonism is well documented. It seems to me highly probable that 'The Garden' indeed alludes to neo-platonic doctrines.
41. Martz, p.40-41.
42. p.43.
43. p.43.
44. de Estella, p.130.
45. Carolyn A. Schten, 'Southwell's "Christs Bloody Sweat": a Meditation on the Mass', English Miscellany (Rome), 20 (1969), 75-80, p.75.
46. de Estella, p.136.
47. See note twelve to Chapter I.
48. John Gerard, The Autobiography of an Elizabethan, p.195.

## Chapter VII

1. Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer, p.4.
2. pp.286-287.
3. Joseph D. Scallion, The Poetry of Robert Southwell, p.vi, 150.
4. Janelle, p.287.
5. pp.106-107, 223.
6. Poems, p.28, 108, 88, 28.
7. Triumphs over Death, p.21.

8. An Epistle of Comfort, Bb4.
9. Spiritual Exercises and Devotions, pp.40-41.

Appendix B.

1. The main source for my account of Possevino's career is Liisi Kartunnen, Antonio Possevino: Un Diplomate Pontifical au XVI Siecle (Lausanne, 1908).
2. James Hutton, The Greek Anthology in Italy, p.42.
3. Frances Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, p.255.

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The following is a list of Southwell's works in accessible modern editions and reprints. For fuller details of the various editions of Southwell's work, see the Bibliographical Study of J.H.McDonald listed below.

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Southwell's own hand" suggests that he transcribed the work if he did not translate it.

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